

COMPILATION OF PAPERS (1993 - 1995)

**by the
Director General for Culture
Prof. Dr. Edi Sedyawati**

**Directorate General for Culture
Ministry of Education and Culture
1995/1996**

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PREFACE

This compilation should only be regarded as a 'chronological note' of whatever presentation I had given for an international audience. There are articles presented in conferences, and some others as contributions for publications. (In this case I do not included my contributions for publications that have not appeared yet). There are two among the articles that I originally wrote in English-as it appears now-but then had been translated and published in a different language. The first one is "The Sculptural Heritage of Indonesia : An Overview", which appeared in French^{*)} and the second one is "A Survey on The Culture of Indonesia", which appeared in German^{**)}.

I would like to ask for the excuses of the reader for the redundancy that is found in some points in this compilation. Whole paragraphs are sometimes repeated. I could not help this, since the occasions that led me to write these articles oftentimes had the same issues to be addressed. I hope the readers would like to tolerate this inconveniencies.

EDI SEDYAWATI

*) "La Sculpture en Indonésie", in *Les Ors de l'Archipel Indonésien* Paris-Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995.

**) "Zur Kultur Indonesiens", in Gunter und Ursula Konrad (eds), *Asmat, Mythen und Rituale Inspiration der Kunst*, Venezia : Erizzo Editrice, 1995

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and Dance, Jakarta

THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE IN INDONESIA*)

Types of Diversity

The *motto* put on The Republic of Indonesia's national emblem is *bhinneka tunggal ika*, which means "diverse, and yet united". It refers to the cultural diversity of the many ethnic groups within the Indonesian state. Each ethnic group has had its own historical background. Within those histories there were acculturations processes, whenever a strong foreign culture is intruding, or pushing hard into each respective culture. There were acculturation processes in different regions of Indonesia when the Hindu and Buddhist religions of India came to be known and adopted in Indonesia. There were also such processes when Islam came to be adopted in the archipelago. Other great acculturation processes that happened in almost all parts of Indonesia were that with the European culture. These processes used to happen in different intensity within each region. Possibly, we may say that this last acculturation with European culture is still undergoing. However, now it happened within a single united platform, the Indonesian new nation as a whole.

Each traditional ethnic culture in Indonesia has a difference from any other culture due to two factors. Firstly, the many ethnic cultures had been different from each other since their respective basic prehistoric phase of development. Secondly, their ever evolving traditional cultures develop the more specific characteristics due to different experiences in acculturation processes.

Diversity, moreover, might be seen from different perspectives too. There is environmental diversity, and on the other hand also diversities in terms of social structure and linguistic-symbolic system. Typical ecological factors may give impetus to certain kinds of technological innovations. We have ethnic cultures which are characteristically sea faring. Others are forest clearing ones, some also depending on river transportation. Still others are lowland farmers. These environmental and related technological factors must to some extent had been instrumental in forming the ethnical differences.

*) Yogyakarta, August 27th, 1993
JAPAN-INDONESIA FORUM ON CULTURE

With a social structural perspective ethnic cultures could be differentiated into those having no stratum differentiation, through those having social strata, either two, three or four strata, up to those societies which besides having social strata also have a governmental system, from village based ones up to the most hierarchical and centralized ones. The existence of centers of political power within ethnic societies had been instrumental to the enhancement of standardization of language, customs, and artistic norms.

A linguistic-symbolic perspective may also be used to classify cultures. Sentence structure, morphology, and vocabulary are variables that differentiate ethnic cultures. These variables may also, on the other hand, indicate whether one culture is more closely or distantly related to another culture. Differentiation of speech levels is especially indicative of social structure.

Change and Continuities

It is on purpose that I reverse Claire Holt's title of her book *Art of Indonesia: Continuities and Change*. My observation of traditions, especially artistic traditions, gives me an insight that it is change that is at the center of actuality. From time to time, people behind the traditions make interpretations, alterations, modifications, and sometimes even great leaps of change. Departure from the original, common ways of doing things, may happen. But after a while, along while, tendencies towards the regaining of old ways, old values, and old motives come to the fore again.

Examples within the Javanese artistic traditions can be mentioned. After reformations had taken place during the early 1970-ies, which was led by the Central Javanese Art Center in Surakarta, almost immediately Javanese artists in Jakarta refer strongly to the old ways of doing dance, even though presenting new compositions. Underlying this fact there was a tendency to re-enact the old aesthetic values of serenity and contemplativeness. The reformations, meanwhile, had promoted an artistic attitude that put great value on dynamic movements, quick changes of dance motifs, and a symmetrical compositions. Another phenomenon which recently appear in dance is a set of exercises and performances which is motivated by the intention to actuate retnality. It is geared by the old motivation of regaining unity with the supernatural world.

By presenting these facts I would like to suppose that change has always been on the move, whether in a slow or a fast speed, and it is only afterwards that people are taking steps, often unconsciously, to recapture the old thread of continuity. The speed of change and the vastness or range of outlying elements included in the changing process often implies the problem of boundary between local and national culture in Indonesia.

Another point related to this problem of cultural change is the culture universals. Supposing that cultural universals comprise of a certain number of elements distinguished from each other, then it might be expected that the rates of change within each element are not the same. Five elements of culture can at least be distinguished from each other, namely religious system, social system, system of art, system of language, and economic system. History is included within the social system, as it is basically a tool of self image related to societies, whether taken as a whole or only parts of it.

The situation in Indonesia at the moment is that traditional cultures are, to a certain degree, undergoing a process of dissintegration. It means, linkages between those elements of culture are changing. Old functions are shifted, disturbed, or even extinguished. Most drastic changes can be found within the economic system, where technology, the cognitive subsystem, science, and the professional subsystem are part of it. On the other hand, the most persistent element of those traditional culture seems to be art.

Thus, it is reasonable that I should close this presentation by giving some notes on our traditional arts. The most vulnerable to neglecton seems to be the traditional, local literature. Measures are being taken to prevent them from losing their vitality. The performing arts, however, are retaining their vigour and vitality, even to a greater degree than they originally have. (Notes on performances on the evening of August 27th, 1993). In the field of visual arts, many creative endeavours have been taken through the time line, to invent new functions of old forms.

All these processes within the Indonesian traditional cultures are worth studying, and comparing with processes that happen within the Japanese culture.

CULTURAL ISSUES RELATED TO DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS*

Most cultural issues intersect through different sectors of human activity, such as education, economy, tourism, politics, justice, etc. Indonesia's national development program's guidelines, indeed, declares explicitly that development should have a cultural perspective. However, interpretations need to be made from time to time, on how to implement that ideal state.

As Indonesia is a multi-ethnic country, and the respective ethnic societies have their own local cultures, cultural programs, therefore, should provide ample elasticity to cope with that diversity. Diversity, in the Indonesian case, is both of kind and of degrees of sophistication.

Types of Diversity

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*) *Seminar Masyarakat Pedalaman* dalam rangka Festival Seni Budaya Masyarakat Pedalaman Pekanbaru, 2 s/d 5 September 1993

Each traditional ethnic culture in Indonesia has a difference from any other culture due to two factors. Firstly, the many ethnic cultures had been different from each other since their respective basic prehistoric phase of development. Secondly, their ever evolving traditional cultures develop the more specific characteristics due to different experiences in acculturation processes.

Diversity, moreover, might be seen from different perspectives too. There is environmental diversity, and on the other hand also diversities in terms of social structure and linguistic-symbolic system. Typical ecological factors may give impetus to certain kinds of technological innovations. We have ethnic cultures which are characteristically sea faring. Other are forest clearing ones, some also depending on river transportation. Still others are lowland farmers. These environmental and related technological factors must to some extent had been instrumental in forming the ethnical differences.

With a social structural perspective ethnic cultures could be differentiated into those having no stratum differentiation, through those having social strata, either two, three or four strata, up to those societies which besides having social strata also have a governmental system, from village based ones up to the most hierarchical and centralized ones. The existence of centers of political power within ethnic societies had been instrumental to the enhancement of standardization of language, customs, and artistic norms.

A linguistic-symbolic perspective may also be used to classify cultures. Sentence structure, morphology, and vocabulary are variables that differentiate ethnic culture. These variables may also, on the other hand, indicate whether one culture is more closely or distantly related to another culture. Differentiation of speech levels is especially indicative of social structure.

Change and Continuities

It is on purpose that I reverse Claire Holt's title of her book *Art of Indonesia: Continuities and Change*. My observation of traditions, especially artistic traditions, gives me an insight that it is change that is

at the center of actuality. From time to time, people behind the traditions make interpretations, alterations, modifications, and sometimes even great leaps of change. Departure from the original, common ways of doing things, may happen. But after a while, a long while, tendencies towards the regaining of old ways, old values, and old motives come to the fore again.

Examples within the Javanese artistic traditions can be mentioned. After reformations had taken place during the early 1970-ies, which was led by the exponents of the Central Javanese Arts Center in Surakarta, almost immediately Javanese artists in Jakarta referred strongly back to the old ways of doing dance, even though at the same time presenting new compositions. Underlying this fact there was a tendency to re-enact the old aesthetic values of serenity and contemplativeness. The reformations, on the other hand, had promoted an artistic attitude that put great value on dynamic movements, quick changes of dance motifs, and a-symmetrical compositions. Another phenomenon which recently appears in dance is a set of exercises and performance which is motivated by the intention to actuate rituality. It is geared by the old motivation of regaining unity with the powerful, supernatural world.

By presenting these facts I would like to suppose that change has always been on the move, be it in a slow or a fast speed, and it is only afterwards that people are taking steps, often unconsciously, to recapture the old thread of continuity. The speed of change and the vastness or range of outlying elements included in the changing process often implies the problem of boundary between local and national culture in Indonesia. A local, ethnic form of art, for instance, may at one point of time produce new works which are imbued by so many *foreign or strange* elements that observers may begin to doubt whether they can still call them traditional art.

Another point related to this problem of cultural change is the culture universals. Supposing that cultural universals comprise of a certain number of elements distinguished from each other, then it might be expected that the rates of change within each element are not the same. Five elements of culture can at least be distinguished from each other, namely religious system, social system, system of art, system of language, and economic system. History is included within the social system, as it is basically a

tool of self image related to societies, whether taken as a whole or only parts of it.

The situation in Indonesia at the moment is that traditional cultures are, to a certain degree, undergoing a process of disintegration. It means, linkages between those elements of culture are changing. Old functions are shifted, disturbed, or even extinguished. Most drastic changes can be found within the economic system, where technology, the cognitive subsystem, science, and the professional subsystem are parts of it. On the other hand, the most persistent element of those traditional cultures seems to be art.

Thus, it is reasonable that this presentation should elaborate on traditional arts. The branch of art that is most vulnerable to neglect seems to be the traditional, local literature, especially the oral modes of it. Measures, nonetheless, are being taken to prevent them from losing their vitality, or else, from being extinguished. The performing arts, however, are retaining their vigour and vitality, even to a greater degree than they originally have. Many performing art groups are being invited from time to time to perform in many different countries. Within Indonesia itself, the kinds and total of institutions that care for art increases during the last twenty years. Many new best quality musical, choreographic and theatrical compositions have been produced. In the field of visual arts, moreover, many creative endeavours have been taken through the time line, to invent new functions out of old forms. Within the scope of visual arts, technologies to produce specific kinds of fabric are also instrumental for the development of fresh ideas in the diversification of further products. By way of examples can be mentioned potential fabrics made of bark, of banana fibre, of different kinds of cotton, etc.

The Specific Problem of Small Scale Societies

The term 'small scale society' has been coined to denote a society which is more or less egalitarian or rudimentarily stratified in its structure, and which is in some way dependent upon another society of a greater magnitude. In Indonesia we have quite a variety of this kind of society. They are more or less isolated from the national, let alone global, mainstream of communication.

Decisions have been made by the government to embark upon programs to the effect that those societies be elevated to a higher degree of welfare. Undertakings have been taken to improve the people's knowledge in the fields of health care, sanitation, national citizenship, technology, etc. At the same time, an explicit promise has been announced that they might not be uprooted from their respective cultures.

It is therefore of decisive importance for us to look more deeply into the cultural problems of each small scale society. Each society has its own unique condition and set of problems. Anyhow, it is expected that a general rule as to what elements of culture should be maintained and what other elements should be geared to change have to be determined. Allow me to propose that every cultural element which is directly relevant to the measure of social welfare should be propped into a disposition of changeability. The stronghold of cultural identity, at the other end of the problem, is to be sought in language and art. It does not mean, however, that language and art should be kept at a standstill. It has to be enlivened by the creative genius, while at the same time ample attention is needed to guard whatever characteristic style, structure and symbolism within those elements of culture. These characteristics could be held as the pillars of cultural identity.

Another point worth noting relevant to small scale societies, or even to societies in general, is that of perceptions and images. Every individual has his/her own perceptions of himself/herself, of others, and of the situation he/she is in. An accumulation of these individual perceptions forms images commonly accepted within a society. An image of limited goods has been identified among certain peasant communities elsewhere. Many questions are still to be asked as to what images do exist among the small scale societies. It could be hypothesized, for instance, that there are images of supernatural patrons, of powerful foreigners, and of a limited physical world. The hard task to be borne by agents of change within those small scale societies is that of sensitively altering these images whenever necessary.

Pakanbaru, 3 September 1993

PERFORMING ARTS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: CULTURAL BACKGROUND*)

Types of Cultural Diversity

The motto *bhinneka tunggal ika*, which means "diverse, and yet united" can as well apply to Southeast Asia as a unity, as it is in the Indonesian context. It refers to the cultural diversity of the many ethnic groups within a state, as well as the many national cultures. Each ethnic group or nation has had its own historical background. Within those histories there were acculturation processes, whenever a strong foreign culture is intruding, or pushing hard into each respective culture. There were acculturation processes in different regions when the Hindu and Buddhist religions of India came to be known and adopted. There were also such processes when Islam came to be adopted in some of the Southeast-Asian countries. Other great acculturation processes that happened in almost all parts of Southeast Asia were that with the European culture. These processes used to happen in different intensity within each region. Possibly, we may say that this last acculturation with European culture is still undergoing.

Each traditional ethnic culture has a difference from any other culture due to two factors. Firstly, the many ethnic cultures had been different from each other since their respective basic prehistoric phase of development. Secondly, their ever evolving traditional cultures develop the more specific characteristics due to different experiences in acculturation processes.

Diversity, moreover, might be seen from different perspectives too. There is environmental diversity, and on the other hand also diversities in terms of social structure and linguistic-symbolic system. Typical ecological

*) Address for the opening of SPAFA Workshop on Documentary Film/Video Making on Performing Arts in Southeast Asia Jakarta, July 1st, 1994.

factors may give impetus to certain kinds of technological innovations. We have ethnic cultures which are characteristically sea faring. Others are forest clearing ones, some also depending on river transportation. Still others are lowland farmers. These environmental and related technological factors must to some extent had been instrumental in forming the ethnical differences.

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These bases of diversity may have certain impacts on artistic forms, including the many kinds of performing arts. To understand them deeply one has to look into their respective historical background, social setting, and concepts specific to each culture. As a consequence, if we decided to make a documentary on a form of performing arts, we have to be aware of those varied cultural, social, and historical aspects.

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the regaining of old ways, old values, and old motives come to the fore again. Examples within the Javanese artistic traditions can be mentioned. After reformations had taken place during the early 1970-ies, which was led by the Central Javanese Art Center in Surakarta, almost immediately, as if in reaction to it, Javanese artistic in Jakarta refer strongly to the old ways of doing dance, even though presenting new compositions. Underlying this fact there was a tendency to re-enact the old aesthetic values of serenity and contemplativeness. The reformations initiated in Surakarta, meanwhile, had promoted an artistic attitude that put great value on dynamic movements, quick changes of dance motifs, and a-symmetrical compositions. Another phenomenon which recently appears in dance is a set of exercises and performances which is motivated by the intention to actuate rituality. It is geared by the old motivation of regaining unity with the supernatural world.

By presenting these facts I would like to suppose that change has always been on the move, whether in a slow or a fast speed, and it is only afterwards that people are taking steps, often unconsciously, to recapture the old thread of continuity. The speed of change and the vastness or range of outlying elements included in the changing process often implies the problem of boundary between local and national culture, also between national, regional, and universal culture.

Another point related to this problem of cultural change is the culture universals. Supposing that cultural universals comprise of a certain number of elements distinguished from each other, then it might be expected that the rates of change within each element are not the same. Five elements of culture can at least be distinguished from each other, namely religious system, social system, system of art, system of language, and economic system. History is included within the social system, as it is basically a tool of self image related to societies, whether taken as a whole or only parts of it.

The situation in most Southeast Asian countries at the moment is that traditional cultures are, to a certain degree, undergoing a process of disintegration. It means, linkages between those elements of culture are changing. Old functions are shifted, disturbed, or even extinguished. Most drastic changes can be found within the economic system, where technology, the cognitive subsystem, science, and the professional

subsystem are part of it. On the other hand, the most persistent element of those traditional cultures seems to be art. Art gives an immediate, direct impression of the differentiating traits of a culture. Through art one can often feel into a people's values and preferences. This fact explains why people often think of art when they speak of culture.

Thus, it is reasonable that some notes should be given on the present condition of the traditional arts. The most vulnerable to neglect seems to be the traditional, local literature. Measures are often taken to prevent them from losing their vitality. In the field of visual arts, many creative endeavours have been taken through the time line, to invent new functions of old forms. The performing arts, however, are retaining their vigour and vitality, sometimes even to a greater degree than they originally had, due to the many governmental programs as well as to a general economic development.

Sources for Creation

Any artist, in preparing his work of art, is forced to begin from a certain starting point. He definitely has to use a certain technique, because it is the vehicle to express his ideas. He also has to conform to, or in some cases, create, a set of artistic or aesthetic norms as a conceptual basis for his work, even if he claims himself to be an anti-aesthetic artist. Furthermore, a work of art has undoubtedly a message to convey, be it a direct or an indirect one, an overt or a covert one. An artist's motivation to work is basically the message he wants to convey, either to an actual or an idealized audience.

Technical sources can be differentiated into two groups. The first one is that comprising all the techniques originating from the many different national and local traditions in Southeast Asian countries. The second group is that comprising all those techniques originating in the west, initially introduced by the Europeans. Because of their advantage in the fields of technology, industry, and economy, Europeans had in the course of history generated a worldwide power, while spreading their cultural influences in many Asian countries. In many cases, they even colonized those countries. The economic strength, which had brought about political power in the past, and its impact still evident at present, actually also has

a considerable influence in the arts. The novel in literature the diatonic scale in music, and painting on canvas in the visual arts, can be mentioned as the dominant influences of western art into non-western cultures. In some cases, however, it was just these influences that had been instrumental for the integration of the newly formed nations, which are originally multicultural. These artistic factors, along with the adoption of newly introduced concepts such as *political freedom, democracy, scientific method, and individual creativity*, and many others, had brought Asian countries into the *modern world*.

Thus we have visualized how 'modern' artistic techniques have functioned within our respective societies. The subsequent question to be posed is, how should the many 'traditional' artistic techniques in our countries function within the contemporary arts forum? Many answers can be given to this question. Firstly, traditional art may function as a basic property that gives a feeling of being culturally rooted to a nation; secondly, traditional art techniques are to function as sources of inspiration or sources for reference; and thirdly, unfortunately belittlingly, some see the traditional arts can only function as craft, or a minor art, deprived of their creative genius.

In fact, however, the emergence of many new creations in music, dance, theatre, literature, and the visual arts, have shown that the position of traditional art techniques diverse from case to case. In the visual arts traditional techniques are mostly pushed out to the peripheries. In literature there is generally a complete separation between the modern and the traditional. In the fields of dance and music, on the contrary, traditional technical basics emerge forcefully within the center of creative activities of the artists. Indeed, those traditional techniques are not used in their raw forms. Their inherent possibilities are developed into a wider range of form. These developments sometimes overstep the common accepted boundaries. These oversteppings happened because the motivation to create a new work of art was no more the intention to safeguard the old forms but it is more to pursue the farthest ends of exploration.

Aesthetic Norms

The use of artistic techniques is related tightly to the aesthetic norms

which comes into existence concurrently throughout their course of development. Aesthetic norms can be differentiated into those oriented towards the attainment of harmony in one hand, and on the other hand those oriented towards the discovery of new finds for the sake of novelty. In principle the two orientations are diametrically opposed, but in the reality of artistic process, be it of a more 'traditional' or a more 'modern' character, the two do meet from time to time.

An aesthetic norm can be regarded as a message in its own right. Within those norms there are among others symbols and stylistic figures, which have a stimulating power because of their basic principles which are familiar to both the artist and the audience.

Documenting Art

Art has many functions, the most important of which are: educative, religious, recreative, and economical. These functions cross-sectioned among themselves in a varied configuration within different societies. It is to make these functions more effective that documenting activities are usually carried out. Audio-visual technology is developed and improved from day to day, resulting in the production of equipments and systems that become ever faster and vaster in reach. Dissemination of artistic works for a wider range of appreciation is very much enhanced by the audio-visual media. A deposit of documentaries on art works or art forms is also a significant asset for research and study. Audio-visual packages effectively broadcasted into a global reach can even generate a need to their audiences.

EDI SEDYAWATI

'LOCAL GENIUS' AND 'INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE*')

Abstract:

- (1) Awareness of the existence of indigenous knowledge systems; identification of portions/aspects of the IKS that are still effective in meeting the needs of people in different societies; scientific research conducted for the appraisal of IKS, or merely parts of the system.*
- (2) Taking IKS into account and deliverately promoting its role in development may imply a clash with the reverse direction of standardization which is normally taken as the prerequisite for a growing industry and market.*
- (3) IKS comprise several cultural aspects, such as: cosmology in a general sense, social structure, symbolics, environmental knowledge, and technology in its widest sense. Efforts in development are mostly focussed on economical variables. How it relates to mental ideological set ups is ever to be discussed, whether on a case by case basis, or on a general basis.*
- (4) The problem of allocating the competence to make decisions.*

'Indigenous knowledge', which is the subject of the present seminar, has a relevance to the concept of 'Local genius', which has been a much discussed topic among archaeologists on Indonesia for decades. Indeed, the two refer to each other. While 'Indigenous Knowledge' is a descriptive term

*) Address for the International Seminar On Indegenous Knowledge Systems University of Padjadjaran, Bandung, July 11 th, 1994.

to denote all the knowledge contained within different ethnic cultures, to be differentiated from the scientific knowledge assumed to be universal, 'Local Genius', on the other hand, is a term to denote the potentiality of a culture as a whole to withstand strong and pushing influences from another culture within a process of acculturation. To withstand, in this case, does not mean to retain all existing cultural forms while rejecting all foreign influences; on the contrary, to withstand means to adopt cultural influences from without in such a way as to keep the adopting's own cultural identity.

Thus, local genius exists when foreign influences entering a culture are not just adopted, but they are adapted to the specific character and needs of the receiving culture. Actually, local genius is understood in two slightly differing ways: the first one, it stands for the sum repertory of a culture before the coming of a foreign influence, thus forming the basic withstanding strength to cope with any foreign influence; and the second one, it stands for the capability of a culture to retain, or develop, its identity through any process of acculturation. With the above mentioned definitions of local genius, it may then be understood that indigenous knowledge is *the* potential fabric found in a certain culture to enable the respective culture to withstand foreign intrusions, thus availing itself its local genius. Studies of local genius were made on past cultural histories, ending in conclusions about the ability of cultures by itself to deal with, without being submerged by foreign influences. Studies of indigenous knowledge, on the other hand, are made on presentday cultures. These studies are made by scientists, either from outside or inside the culture itself, to discover for the future what potentials are there within the indigenous knowledge systems that can survive by incorporating them into development programs.

The many organizations and institutions existing at present, with all their activities in studying and promoting indigenous knowledge have in itself given proof of their activists' awareness of the existence of indigenous knowledge systems. Despite their scientific background with its established self esteem, it has been their concern that indigenous knowledge or indigenous knowledge systems should somehow be taken into account while globalization is in the process almost everywhere in the world.

Many studies have been made towards the identification of portions or aspects of the indigenous knowledge systems that are still effective in

meeting the needs of people in different societies. Scientific research projects have been conducted for the appraisal of indigenous knowledge systems, or only parts of the system, either for the sake of mere identification of them, or for prospecting into more efficiency, or into possible industrial undertakings.

However, taking indigenous knowledge systems into account and deliberately promoting its role in development programs may imply a clash with the reverse direction of the standardization of product, which normally is taken as a prerequisite for the growing industry and market. It has been identified by many scholars that modern organizations such as the capital-intensive industries and corporations have occupied almost the whole space of the world-stage. There is then the problem of deciding, in which spheres of life is a certain indigenous knowledge to be maintained and developed? Is it only those indigenous knowledge relating to economically significant matters that have to be promoted, and not those knowledge that seem to be 'idle', such as the arts? There is also a problem of allocating the competence to make decisions within a society. Many decisions have been made by people at the top strata of a society who often also happened to be those already alienated from his culture's indigenous knowledge due to his 'western' education.

The indigenous knowledge system comprises several cultural aspects, such as: cosmology in a general sense, social structure, symbolics, environmental knowledge, and technology in its widest sense. Efforts in development are mostly focussed on economical variables. Most studies of indigenous knowledge, therefore, are directed towards economical and related environmental issues. How it relates to mental ideological set-ups is ever to be discussed, whether on a case by case, or on a general basis. The field of art, which comprises both symbolics and technology, has the fact that the continuity of indigenous knowledge in it has less conflicts with the so-called 'modern world' than it is in other fields related to more pragmatic ends such as economics, forestry, farming, health care, etc.

The following are points worth considering for further discussions on either indigenous knowledge or local genius. It is addressed to a wide range of cultural aspects, although specific examples are given from the field of art.

Types of Cultural Diversity

Although science has succeeded in generating the belief that scientific truths are universal, there is still the fact at hand, namely that civilizations of the world are culture-bound. Knowledge systems of the many cultures of the world can be differentiated into (1) those owned by small-scale societies, and (2) those owned by large-scale societies having a 'great tradition' within it. These two are regarded as again different from (3) the knowledge system based on scientific methodology, that is claimed to be universally valid and globally accepted. The problem of cultural diversity is only relevant to the first two categories of knowledge systems.

As it is found in the Indonesian context, the motto "unity in diversity" may as well apply to the many cultures in the world, all of which aspiring for a prosperous and peaceful life. It may refer to the cultural diversity of the many ethnic groups within a state, as well as the many national cultures. Each ethnic group or nation has had its own historical background. Within those histories there were acculturation processes, whenever a strong foreign culture is intruding, or pushing hard into each respective culture. In the Southeast-Asian example, there were acculturation processes in different regions when the Hindu and Buddhist religions of India came to be known and adopted. There were also such processes when Islam came to be adopted in some of the Southeast-Asian countries. Other great acculturation processes that happened in almost all parts of Southeast Asia were that with the European culture. These processes used to happen in different intensity within each region. Possibly, we may say that this last acculturation with European culture is still undergoing.

Each traditional ethnic culture has a difference from any other culture due to two factors. Firstly, the many ethnic cultures had been different from each other since their respective basic prehistoric phase of development. Secondly, their ever evolving traditional cultures develop the more specific characteristics due to different experiences in acculturation processes.

Diversity, moreover, might be seen from different perspectives too. There is environmental diversity, and on the other hand also diversities in terms of social structure and linguistic-symbolic system. Typical ecologi-

cal factors may give impetus to certain kinds of technological innovations. We have ethnic cultures which are characteristically sea faring. Others are forest clearing ones, some also depending on river transportation. Still others are lowland farmers. These environmental and related technological factors must to some extent had been instrumental in forming the ethnical differences.

With a social structural perspective ethnic cultures could be differentiated into those having no stratum differentiation, through those having social strata, either two, three or four strata, up to those societies which besides having social strata also have a governmental system, from village based ones up to the most hierarchical and centralized ones. The existence of centers of political power within ethnic societies had been instrumental to the enhancement of standardization of language, customs, and artistic norms.

A linguistic-symbolic perspective may also be used to classify cultures. Sentence structure, morphology, and vocabulary are variables that differentiate ethnic cultures. These variables may also, on the other hand, indicate whether one culture is more closely or distantly related to another culture. Differentiation of speech levels is especially indicative of social structure.

These bases of diversity may have certain impacts on many forms of cultural expression. To understand them deeply one has to look into their respective historical background, social setting, and concepts specific to each culture.

Change and Continuities

It is on purpose that I reverse Claire Holt's title of her book *Art of Indonesia: Continuities and Change*. My observation of traditions, especially artistic traditions, gives me an insight that it is change that is at the center of actuality. From time to time, people behind the traditions make interpretations, alterations, modifications, and sometimes even great leaps of change. Departure from the original, common ways of doing things, may happen. But after a while, a long while, tendencies towards the regaining of old ways, old values, and old motives come to the fore again.

Examples within the Javanese artistic traditions can be mentioned. After reformations had taken place during the early 1970-ies, which was led by the Central Javanese Art Center in Surakarta, almost immediately, as if in reaction to it, Javanese artists in Jakarta refer strongly to the old ways of doing dance, eventhough presenting new compositions. Underlying this fact there was a tendency to re-enact the old aesthetic values of serenity and contemplativeness. The reformations initiated in Surakarta, meanwhile, had promoted an artistic attitude that put great value on dynamic movements, quick changes of dance motifs, and a-symmetrical compositions. Another phenomenon which recently appear in dance is a set of exerises and performances which is motivated by the intention to actuate rituality. It is geared by the old motivation of regaining unity with the supernatural world.

By presenting these facts I would like to suppose that change has always been on the move, whether in a slow or a fast speed, and it is only afterwards that people are taking steps, often unconsciously, to recapture the old thread of continuity. The speed of change and the vastness or range of outlying elements included in the changing process often implies the problem of boundary between local and national culture, also between national, regional, and universal culture.

Another point related to this problem of cultural change is the culture universals. Supposing that cultural universals comprise of a certain number of elements distinguished from each other, then it might be expected that the rates of change within each element are not the same. Five elements of culture can at least be distinguished from each other, namely religious system, social system, system of art, system of language, and economic system. History is included within the social system, as it is basically a tool of traditional cultures are, to a certain degree, undergoing a process of disintegration. It means, linkages between those elements of culture are changing. Old functions are shifted, disturbed, or even extinguished. Most drastic changes can be found within the economic system, where technology, the cognitive subsystem, science, and the professional subsystem are part of it. On the other hand, the most persistent element of those traditional cultures seems to be art. Art gives an immediate, direct impression of the differentiating traits of a culture. Through art one can often feel into a peo-

ple's values and preferences. This fact explains why people often think of art when they speak of culture.

In some cases in cultural history it was just the influences from western art that had been instrumental for the integration of the newly formed nations in Asia, which are originally multi-cultural. These artistic factors, along with the adoption of newly introduced concepts such as *political freedom, democracy, scientific method, and individual creativity*, and many others, had brought Asian countries into the *modern world*.

Aside from art which is most likely to be regarded as a characterizing factor for a culture, indigenous knowledge in the more pragmatic aspects of culture could be developed in a more cross-cultural platform. It may have two kinds of application for further development: either to be developed for specific environmental condition, or to be handed over to industry for the global market.

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INDONESIAN SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT FOR FAMILY PLANNING*)

This paper will focus on the cultural, *cum* social, context in which the family planning program has been designed, introduced, and implemented in Indonesia. It is the general cultural set-up that will be described, rather than the family planning program itself, which will be the subject of another paper. The cultural set-up found in Indonesia will be discussed in relation to its structural as well as its dynamical aspects.

As the main and ultimate goal of family planning is a combination of population control and quality enhancement of the family, then related cultural aspects to be discussed should be those concerning social structure, educational systems, and the function of the family. All three of them are regarded as cultural aspects, since they are guided by values, norms, and symbolic systems.

Social Structure

The Indonesian society is an integrated whole of population which is characterized by a newly formed national culture. That population, however, consists of members of different ethnic groups. As the whole Indonesian nation we call "*bangsa*", so these ethnic groups we call "*suku-bangsa*" (sub-nation). Each of them has its own ethnic culture. They are differentiated from each other due to differences in their respective histories and acculturation processes undergone in the past. Theoretically speaking, each member of the nation is now at least a bi-cultural person : on the one hand he/she adheres to his/her respective ethnic culture, in a lesser or greater degree of adherence, while on the other hand he/she is also acknowledging himself/herself as a member of the Indonesian nation, and thus adhering to the national culture.

*) Paper for the International Seminar on The Socio Cultural Context of Family Planning. Yogyakarta, 22 - 26th August 1994.

The modern Indonesian state, which *in facto* exists since 1945, is an all-encompassing structure of organization, regulating the basic requirements of a state, national constitution and all its derivatives; civil administration ; military force; and all the systems regulating the many sectors of activity. The territorial-governmental sub-divisions within the Indonesian state were *mostly*, but not necessarily and consistently so, in conformity with the boundaries of the homelands of ethnic groups. The whole integrated organization of the state with all its ideological background, along with the use of *bahasa Indonesia* as a national language, have been instrumental in forming the national unity. On this basis, many national program, among others the Family Planning Program, have been launched and implemented.

The hierarchy of the territorial-governmental structure in Indonesian is from top to bottom; the state, the province, the regency (*kabupaten*), the *kecamatan* and the *kelurahan* or *desa* (village). The *kelurahan* as the lowest formal governmental unit is the one that directly deal with the population. Within the *kelurahan* community there are units of citizens organizations, known nationwide, which are in a hierarchical order : *rukun warga* (community organization), *rukun tetangga* (neighbourhood organization), and *kelurahan* (family). Sometimes, related to specific program, there are other units of organization added, such as that designed by the Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga (PKK) Movement. The organization in that case is the *desa wisma* (ten houses) unit, which aims at facilitating the intensive registration and monitoring of mily welfare projects.

Among the many ethnic societies there have been different form of traditional governmental organizations, either on the village level or up to one or two levels above it, or also added by one level below it. The terminology is specific to each ethnic group. Sometimes there are specific criteria of leadership too. As the modern territorial sub-division of the Republic of Indonesia was derived or abstracted from the existing traditional systems, it has been without significant difficulty that the modern system was introduced and fit into the traditional ones.

Examples of local terms are :

	walak	luhak		
desa	wanua	negeri	lepoq	dusun
		jorong	umag	dukuh

Most traditional territorial units are related to kinship units. By way of example it can be mentioned that many a traditional village has a sanctuary or a special (annual) celebration for the *cikal bakal* or *nenek moyang* (founder of the village, at the same time the forefather of its inhabitants). The *umag* (long house) known in Kalimantan is a physically clear-bound territory for a clan or sub-clan, which occasionally can sub-divide into other long houses whenever population demand is felt as pressing.

In the course of the Indonesian national development, however, traditional social structures are being challenged from time to time, to be re-organized and to adapt to the demands of national strategies. A most important part of the structure, which is also the most relevant to the Family Planning program is **the family**. The many ethnic cultures have their own concept of the family. The idea of the nuclear family is universally known, but it is almost always directly related to the concept of extended family and clan. Those ethnic cultures, which were initially formed during the prehistoric times, when manpower was much in need to cope with the immense vastness of nature, and were mostly still so during the earlier part of the historic periods, promoted the esteem for a big (nuclear) family. It is this traditional norm that is being challenged, and changed in accordance with the present national strategy, namely to lay great value on the small but happy and prosperous (nuclear) family.

New ideas related to the Family Planning Program have been promoted and socialized through the agencies of authorities recognized within the traditional societies. These authorities could be different from place to place. It has been the diligent work of Family Planning staffs to conduct dialogues with community leaders and different social groups that made the plan workable and has brought forth satisfactory results. Nevertheless, a sustained awareness of cultural differences from place to place is

always needed. In fact, not all ethnic cultures has been satisfactorily studied, and moreover, different types of social and cultural changes are happening from time to time.

Educational Systems.

The Indonesian national educational system comprises the formal as well as the non-formal education. That which is tightly administered by the government is formal one, with its clearcut definition of levels and lines of study programs. The non-formal education, on the other hand, is given more chance to be developed by whatever members of the society. Indeed, the government has its own non-formal education program, which is closely monitored and evaluated.

Non-formal education initiated by the community ranges from the tightly structured to the very loosely structured. Among the loosely structured are the courses related to family welfare and family planning. These kinds of courses are conducted either by occasional community gatherings, or by nationwide organizations equipped with well defined scheme of actions.

There are, moreover, the educational systems within the ethnic context. In some of these, the role of educators is played by community resource persons, who are not necessarily considered as professionals. They could be the master chanter, the dramatic puppet player, the conductor of customary ceremonies, the religious teacher, or any person within the community who is considered knowledgeable in many respects. These persons are members of his/her own family, but their knowledge and expertise are shared by members of other families, or even by the whole community. Thus, we may say that here we have an inter-family co-tutorial system within a community.

The Function of the Family

In the Indonesia context, the family should be understood in its three varieties according to the components of its members. First, it is the nuclear family consisting of parents and children; second, it is extended family consisting of the nuclear family plus closely related kinmembers;

and third is the family of the first or the second variety, added by members that are invited into the family for practical or altruistic reasons. These added members can either be far-related kin-members, or any person without any kin relationship.

The norm of "small and happy, prosperous family" launched on a national level by the Family Planning Program refers to the nuclear family. The ideal size of a nuclear family is that it consists of four members; father, mother, and two children. The norm aims at generating families that can function as a healthy activities. It is by educating the parents that these aims are expected to be achieved.

However, bigger sized families of second or third variety may also function as a healthy centre for loving care, education, and even production. Within these kinds of families the socialization process of the child is more complex, and thus the child is expected to gain more readiness to deal with the society.

The government of the Republic of Indonesia, however, launched programs such as in the field of family planning and housing, that direct people towards living in a small and independent nuclear family. It has its own advantages, but the advantages of the second and third variety of a family should also be considered to be regained, maybe for the later phase of a family's history.

The Indonesian national culture is ever in a formation period. Lessons from ethnic traditional cultures, as well as new ideas from the modern world, are put into a dialogue from time to time, and thence syntheses are to be found. The ultimate goal is to form a population that is physically and spiritually healthy. The new norm laid down by the Family Planning Program is in the process of becoming part of the national culture, even though it still has to be adjusted to the more rooted traditional values.

File : kb-bud ; Jakarta, August 21st, 1994

Paper for the International Seminar on **THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF FAMILY PLANNING**, in relation to the world Decade for Cultural Development, held in Yogyakarta, 22-26th of August, 1994.

***Cultural expression and the arts: energizing forces for
development in Asia and the Pacific?*)***

First, I have to define the scope of "development", whether it comprises a totality of all the means for life within a society, or it is relevant only to certain sectors of man's organization of life. In most cases the terms "development" has been used restrictively, mainly referring to economic and related technological and environmental development. Therefore, central issues in the discourse on development are those pertaining to the mentioned aspects of human civilization.

However, since development should ethically always cater to the overall wellbeing of human being, it should, then, also have a cultural dimension. It is also through the culture of his society that a human being is brought to his dignity, after his basic physical needs have been fulfilled.

It remains now to discuss, in what way does culture relate to development in a strict sense (economic, technological, environmental). However, culture may also be developed in its own right. In that case, it is visualized that cultural values as well as conceptual frameworks and ideologies together comprise the focal point in a cultural system, of which cultural expressions and works of art are the indicators.

Culture and Development

In this sub-chapter the term "development" is taken in its narrow sense, meaning economical development and all its directly relevant aspects. In this sense, development in a country means the building-up of infrastructural facilities, industry and trade within that country, to the effect that economic growth and social welfare will be the result.

*) Regional Consultation of the World Commission on Culture and Development
(Manila, 21-23 November 1994)
Remarks on Theme 5:

Technological achievements should be one of the prerequisites for development in that sense.

The term culture, in this case, should also be defined in its broader as well as its narrower sense. In its broader sense culture is the totality of human ability to deal with his life, to survive physically, emotionally, and mentally. In a more strict sense, culture should mean the human faculty, within a society, to construct a system of symbols, either for communicational ends or for interpreting the world, the cosmos, and human life. In any sense, however culture is a total configuration of those faculties that characterize a society, or a nation.

Language, philosophy and ethics, science, and the arts are fields of human creation using symbolic faculties. Those are the pure cultural products in a strict sense. Applied science, however, is part of culture in a broader sense, since it has pragmatic and practical ends. On the other end, religion has a specific place in human life. Religion is a cultural faculty although the basic teachings of which is God-sent, revealed to God-chosen human beings. Those basic teachings are to be understood universally, although the material renderings could be culturally adapted within each society.

Now, if development in a strict sense is put vis a vis culture in a narrow sense, then it can be discussed whether cultural expression and the arts are 'energizing' forces for development' in Asia and the Pacific. Cultural expressions and the arts have symbols and concepts as their ingredients, while the contents are the different kinds of messages. They have the forms of, either works of art, or any kinds of discourse. All the symbols, concepts, and messages, within a well-integrated culture normally conform to the set of cultural values relevant to the respective society. However, it might also happen that within a multi-cultural society with less integrative forces in it, cultural values may vary from one to another faction within that society, even to the extent that values generated from a newly acquired economic growth may become so divergent from the ethical values known from the past, that have functioned as a stronghold of a nation.

The last mentioned situation may happen if the society concerned lacks the awareness of the existence of those disintegrating factors. If a nation is determined to avoid disintegration, then cultural discourse should

always be conducted from time to time, along with the economical and technological developments that tend to ever speed-up. The position of culture in a strict sense, in a society, should be that of a guardian of morality, a reflection on the meaning of human life, and a source of energy to raise an ever better condition of life. To be able to function in that way, culture should deliberately be given a position of a guiding strength within a society. Put in other words, life should not be taken as having practical ends alone.

Cultural Development

Human dignity and (national) cultural identity should be the goals of a cultural development in its own right. Ideally cultural development is treated as part and parcel of development in a broad sense. Cultural development should then have two directions that are of equal importance and should be mutually supportive. The first direction is towards the strengthening of:

- (a) cultural identity through a sense of having specific cultural roots, and through an awareness of having creative faculties;
- (b) ethical and moral values; and
- (c) historical awareness.

On the other hand, the second direction is catered to cope with the speed of technological and economic development. This direction of cultural development comprises the promotion and enhancement of values that put ingenuity, objectivity, and systems awareness at an elevated place.

The creative faculties mentioned in relation to the first direction of cultural development are not to be understood as comprising only creativity in the artistic field. Artistic creatifity is indeed the most exposed, immediately recognizable form of creativity. In a way, it deserves the laudation as the representative of the concept of creativity itself, since it is in the arts that creativity can deal with sheer form, sheer imagination, with no other objectives besides the work of art itself. Nevertheless, it is also an established fact that creativity is also a faculty that through new concepts, new theories, new methodologies, promotes science and entrepreneurship into a dynamic life.

A continuous dialogue between cultural development and economic-technological development is badly needed if development in a broader sense is deemed to succeed. Spiritual and mental-emotional needs of the whole society is expected to be facilitated and enhanced by its physical-material wellbeing, rather than eclipsed or pestered by it.

GOVERNMENT-BASED AND PRIVATE-BASED ORGANIZATIONS FOR CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDONESIA*)

Both Government-based and private-based organizations are important agents for cultural development in Indonesia. They function, however, in a slightly different way for some aspects of cultural development. Basically, the Government of The Republic of Indonesia has the task of developing culture with a clearly defined set of norms and objectives. These set of norms and objectives aims at generating whatever actions and products that strengthen the national culture, while at the same time warding off any element of activity and production that is considered detrimental to the building up of a well-founded national culture. The private organizations, on the other hand, have a freer rein for their activities. Some types of private organization do have the awareness and intent to develop culture in a positive and constructive way relevant to the building up of a national culture. Other types of private organizations, to the contrary are active in some fields of culture but using mainly a commercial rather than a cultural yardstick.

To be able to discuss in more detail about the organization of cultural development, it would be necessary to first delineate what the meaning is of culture and cultural development.

Culture

Since development in a general sense should always cater to the overall wellbeing of human beings, it should, then, have a cultural

*) International Symposium Social and Cultural Development in the Context of Economic Growth in Asia Hanoi (Vietnam), November 24-26, 1994

dimension. It is through the culture of his society that a human being is brought to his dignity, after his basic physical needs have been fulfilled. Culture may also be developed in its own right. In that case, it is visualized that cultural values as well as conceptual frameworks and ideologies together comprise the focal point in a cultural system, of which cultural expressions and works of art are the most observable indicators.

The term culture should also be defined in its broader as well as its narrower sense. In its broader sense culture is the totality of human ability to deal with his life to survive physically, emotionally and mentally. In a more strict sense, culture should mean the human faculty, within a society, to construct a system of symbols either for communicational ends or for interpreting the world, the cosmos, and human life. In any sense, however, culture is a total configuration of those faculties that characterize a society, or a nation.

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Types of Organization

There are three main types of cultural organization in Indonesia, namely:

- (a) purely governmental;
- (b) by status private, but strongly supported by the government;
- (c) purely private.

Among the purely governmental organizations can be mentioned the different departments (equivalent to "ministries" in other countries) that are somehow relevant to the task of cultural development. The first to be mentioned is the Department of Education and Culture, within which there is the Directorate General for Culture, the other three directorate generals being those concerning education. Other departments that can be mentioned in connection with cultural development are the Department of Information and the Departemen of Post, Telecommunication and Tourism.

It is the Directorate General for Culture that has the explicit task concerning cultural development. However, it doesn't visualize itself as being the sole player of the role. The main fields of activity of the Directorate General for Culture are:

- (a) the management (a.o. making of inventories), preservation, conservation, and restoration of monuments and other tangible cultural heritage;
- (b) the management of all museums owned by the state, and professional consultations to private museums;
- (c) research in Indonesian languages, literature, ethnic cultures, archaeology and the arts;
- (d) the giving of directives towards the use of correct Indonesian (language), and the construction of norms related to it;

- (e) the study and dissemination of Indonesian cultural values, studied either from the old traditions (literate and non-literate) or from contemporary developments;
- (f) the promotion of high quality works of art;
- (g) the study of local belief systems and its methods of attaining spiritual merits;
- (h) the study and writing of Indonesian history;
- (i) the promotion of inter-regional cultural understanding;
- (j) the management of cultural information;
- (k) the production and the promotion of production of exemplary packages of cultural information.

In principle, this directorate general has several roles to play in cultural development: not always as the executor of cultural activities, but often also as coordinator, or just motivator of such activities.

Other directorate generals in the Department of Education and Culture takes care of school-, and out-of-school education, from kindergarten up to university level, which is in a way dealing with enculturation processes. National awareness, historical awareness, as well as awareness of the need for cultural identity, of ethical and religious truths, are among the substances learned through different subjects of teaching.

The Department of Information is responsible in forming guiding principles for media management. The media is, either printed, auditive, or audio-visual also media for cultural transfer. It is always important to keep track of the flow of informations that has a cultural impact. The flow of foreign media products needs to be balanced by self-made Indonesian product which are not only commercial but also culturally constructive. Film and video making and distribution is supervised by this department.

The Department of Post, Telecommunication and Tourism, especially the Directorate General for Tourism in it, has a direct relevance to cultural development, since it promotes the 'selling' of culture to tourists. The most important thing in the business of selling is the endeavour to make the best quality of each class of things sold, and at the same time reaching for the best financial income for the makers of all those cultural products.

Archaeological parks, art festivals, ritualistic-ceremonial events, and musea are among the cultural tourists objects.

The province and district level governments may also have some cultural organizations under their auspices. It ranges from the artistic group led by the wife of the governor, to the council of art elected among the prominent artists in the region. These Art Councils, that can be found in many provinces, are the examples of an organization that has a private status but heavily supported by the local government. Another example is the Archaeological Park, which is managed as a private company, but at the same time is responsible to the government because this park is using Government's asset. Still another example is the National Crafts Council: it is a semi-governmental organization, with a more or less private status, but all the members and staff come from Government's offices, *ex officio*.

The purely private organizations are manifold. They range from music-cassette producers to the organization of patrons of the classical leather puppet performances. The cultural subject matter dealt with ranges from the most trivial to the most serious, from the most popular to the most classical. Private sponsorship for (serious) art is now in the beginnings of their emergence in Indonesia.

Aspects of Cultural Development

Several subjects that can be seen as aspects of cultural development are among other:

- (a) the promotion of a national culture;
- (b) the development of local-ethnic cultures as a source for giving a sense of having cultural roots, as well as a source of inspiration for never creations;
- (c) the promotion and enhancement of quality in cultural works;
- (d) the promotion and control of cultural industry.

The government has the authority to direct all those aspects of cultural development, while the private sector has a full chance to participate. Deeper understanding on cultural subjects is still to be promoted and the appreciation for good cultural products to be widened to all the different groups in a society, and especially to those of the economically successful,

the well-to-do people in a society. These elegantly exposed people are usually considered as models in a society. It is good, therefore, that they are identified with good taste for art, and for all other cultural expressions. Through them, the majority of people within a society will also become people of high taste, culturally.

THE SCULPTURAL HERITAGE OF INDOENSIA: AN OVERVIEW

Since prehistoric times the sculptural genius of Indonesia had made itself known through its remains in the form of sculptural works in durable materials. These works comprise those made of different kinds of stone, earthenware, and certain kinds of metal, especially iron and bronze. From time to time, through the centuries, there had been a development in the use of materials, either in terms of technical progress or in terms of the extension of the number of material varieties.

Technical ability and conceptual, symbolical faculties, had ever developed through a chain of innovations, incorporating a series of adoptions and re-interpretations of whatever elements taken from neighbouring or overseas nations. Art in general, and sculpture in particular, had always have particular functions in society. These functions also varies and occasionally had undergone changes in the ever developing societies in Indoensia, since prehistoric times.

The emergence of sculpture in a strict sense, that is the art of either chiselling, moulding, or casting materials into forms that somehow have a symbolic meaning, began in the Neolithic and Bronze-Iron Age in the Indonesian material-cultural history. The Neolithic Age is that phase of development when people are able to make tools made of stone with a fine polish of their surface. At the same time the Neolithic prehistoric man also began to make stone monuments, either in the form of *menhirs* (rising, upright stone) or *dolmens* (simple structure of configuration of stone boulders). All these development of man's capability in using stone coincided with the social development which made him live in a sedentary mode of life. They did not roam or live in caves anymore, but instead began to organize themselves in hamlets or villages, which should also mean that at the same time they had to develop the technology and art of making housing structures. The pioneers *cum* founding fathers of villages are still known in presentday local terms such as *cikal bakal* ("the primary seed") or *sang anaruka* ("the revered person who began to clear the forest to make a ham-

let"). In some local cultures in Indonesia there is a village ceremony that involved a pair of super-sized effigy of the prime "father and mother" of the population. The pair of big effigies is made to dance or just walk in processions. Those big figures are manipulated by a person inside them. Examples that can be mentioned are the Jero Gede and Jero Luh pair known in Bali, the *huda-huda* of the northern Batak cultures, and the *ondel-ondel* of Jakarta.

It was also during the Neolithic Age that people began to develop the technology of baking clay. Different kinds of containers were made for practical as well as ceremonial use, and possibly, besides that also figures and figurines were made as sculpture in a strict sense. The sedentary mode of life had brought people further into the next phase of development: through technological explorations getting the ability to make things out of metal. In Indonesia the metal initially used were bronze and iron at the same time, hence the name Bronze-Iron Age. The development of groups of people within a society with specific specialized capabilities had made this age also a society in which there was already a differentiation of professions.

Through both Neolithic and Bronze-Iron ages a faculty of erecting megalithic (large stone) structures had developed. It was conjectured that the sculpting in stone of dynamical naturalistic figures or scenes was only developed in the Bronze-Iron Age, while in the previous age it was statical figures that prevail. The megalithic traditions in Indonesia turned to be lasting ones. They are found in different areas in Indonesia, with different varieties among them. They, moreover, through the ages had underwent transformations along with the different cultural changes, even acculturation processes, within each ethnic group. The most dominant basic concepts related to megalithic structures are:

- (1) the veneration of ancestors,
- (2) through ceremonies which involve the whole community,
- (3) using large stone structures of different types as the venue and or focal point of ceremony.

The forms of the stone structures itself, however, may change through the ages because of changing religious orientations. As a hypothetical example can be mentioned that the high rising Islamic tombstones found in In-

onesia, as also the Sivaitic *lingga* is in essence a continuation *cum* transformation of the basic idea behind the prehistoric *menhir* monument to commemorate the initial tribal leader. So much so is the *tugu pahlawan* (pillar-like structure to commemorate heroes) in presentday Indonesia.

In prehistoric sculpture there is a certain predominant trait related to the depiction of figures, namely the accèntuation of the face or the head. Some of the large stone structures are in the form of upright anthropomorphic statues, either in a full or a rudimentary anthropomorphicity. The last mentioned category includes the "menhir statues", that is, upright stone pillars with a schematic indication of a human figure on it. Sometimes it is only the topmost part of the pillar that is chiselled out to make a simple rendering of a human face.

The depiction of just the human face, either on a larger surface or detached as a free-standing object, originated indeed in the prehistoric period. There are human faces depicted on stone sarcophaguses and on large stone monuments. A detached golden mask is also found in a neolithic prehistoric site of Pasir Angin, West Java. The deliberate pronouncement of the face seem to be based on a concept which considers the face as the most important and significant representative of the whole person. This idea survives up to the present, through many ethnic traditions, in the form of mask making and mask plays. The mask and mask play is often related to certain rituals, especially those relevant to ancestor commemorations. In some ethnic cultures the mask (ritual) play had been transformed into a purely theatrical performance. In those traditions, the mask is basically a representation of types of characters. Through the manipulation of shapes and lines in many artistic ways, benevolent characters are differentiated from malevolent ones, refined from strong ones, males from females, and so are all other finer character differences rendered into a large variety of mask forms.

Further cultural developments within ethnic groups had shown that in actual life it is the head that is considered as the most important part of a person, hence the differentiation of headgear or headdress. First of all, each and every ethnic group has a specific style of headdress. Within each ethnic group there is a further differentiation between daily and ceremonial headdresses, and also between male and female, as well as between higher and lower status in society.

Most ethnic societies in Indonesia had underwent further development in Indonesia's historic periods. The identification of a 'historic period' is of course that from a scientist's point of view; it is characterized by the availability of written evidence *about* the society concerned. It need not be the society itself that produce the written evidence. For the society concerned it was more the introduction of a new culture that was most important, irrespective of whether it would left written evidence for historians of their future or not. Nevertheless, the introduction and the use of writing had indeed played a significant role in cultural development, because it may then convey ideas more explicitly and more widely.

There are four subsequent phases in Indonesia's historic period, namely the Hindu-Buddhist, the Islamic, the colonial, and the independent Republic of Indonesia of the present. Each period had had something to offer within the sphere of sculpture. The first one, the Hindu-Buddhist period, introduced Hindu and Buddhist ideas of divinity with all the relevant concepts that could be transformed into tangible, plastic forms. Hence, the multitude of symbolic forms of either anthropomorphic or non-anthropomorphic character. Among the non-anthropomorphic forms that was very much used is the lotus flower, called the *padma* (red lotus), *kumuda* (white lotus), or *utpala* (blue lotus). It has been used in both Hindu and Buddhist statuary. The *padma* symbolizes several concepts, the most important of which are: the seat of the highest divinity, the birth of the universe, the birth of Buddha, the ultimate truth, the seat of sacred vital energy (within a person doing *yoga*), compassion, etc.

Life of whatever kind in this universe has been interpreted as undulating and ever flowing; thence the dominant curvilinear lines and convex planes in Hindu-Buddhist statuary. The flowing rhythm of lines can be seen on all kinds of sculptural works, from freestanding statues to narrative reliefs. It is not only evident in big stone statues, but also in small utilitarian objects made of gold.

Islamic art is predominantly ornamentational, since Islam discourages the representation of living creatures, either humans or animals. Thus it developed the intricacies of foliage and geometrical compositions as decorative art. However, since Hinduism and Buddhism had been of great influence in Java since eight to ten centuries before the introduction of Islam on that island, the preference to depict figures had been retained.

Early Islamic art in Central and East Java showed examples of depiction of figures disguised in compositions of foliage. Later on, especially in Cirebon, West Java, an art of making disguised figures in caligraphic compositions also developed. Along with those specific developments that attempted to cope with Islamic preference, almost regulation, of non-depiction of creatures, however, the art of puppet play still survived. Islamic pioneering leaders, the *walis*, were even attributed as the inventors of the *wayang* puppet play. The *wayang* shadow puppet play, historically, had been known in Java at least since the thenth centruy A.D. Indeed, under the Islamic Javanese reign there had been a turning of attitudes towards the Hindu godheads: the Hindu supreme god Siva (in Javanese liteature called Bhataru Guru) has been super-posed by the one and only god Sang Hyang Tunggal or Sang Hyang Wenang, conforming to the Islamic concept of 'Allah Subhanahu wa Ta'ala.

The colonial period, later on, had introduced the western ideas of visual art. Depiction of human figures, as well as any scene of nature, tended to be rendered in a naturalistic way. The eyes were asked to scrutiny the realities of nature, and interpret it, -- if it was deemed as something necessary --, in terms of moods and associations to be generated. It is very unlike the eastern visual arts in general, and the various indigenous Indonesian arts in particular, which is from the very onset symbolical in character. Later development, after Indonesia's independence, has shown that Indonesian modern sculpture takes into considertion whatever trend there is in the international world of visual arts. Nevertheless, it has not been always onlyadoptions from the west that Indonesian sculptors are occupied with; some of them are also interested in studying and then using concepts or idioms from indigenous ethnic art.

Sculpture, in all periods of time, is addressing the demands of many aspects of live: religion, aesthetics, and the performance of social roles. hence, there are sculptural objects that were made to be used in religious ceremonies, such as the golden mask for the deceased, the statues of gods, the golden laddle, rosaries, etc. Besides, there are also objects that seemed to be made for sheer aesthetic expression and enjoyment, such as the golden bowl with embossed scenes from the Rama Story, the many kinds of terracotta ornamentations for different parts of the house, and the many kinds of adornments for the body. These adornments, from prehistoric down to early historic times, were made of different kinds of material, such as stone, terracotta, bronze, silver, and gold. Some of the house ornamentations and

bodily adornments, along with the use of specific clothings, were also made to differentiate people of higher ranks from the commoners.

The sculptural genius in Indonesia had been developed along with the acculturation processes undergone. There were not only development in symbolical meanings related to the many sculptural objects, but likewise, there was also a development in technology. The technique in iron forging and damascening to make big gongs as well as *kris* daggerlike weapons is among the noted technological feats of the Indonesians.

2 January 1995

MONUMENTS MANAGEMENT IN INDONESIA*)

abstract

Architectural remains from past abound in Indonesia, especially in the most densely populated island of Java. They range from the prehistorical monuments, categorically called megaliths, through the Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic periods, up to the colonial period when the presence of the Dutch colonies had been epitomized in many 'colonial-style' buildings. All of those remains are taken care of, to the best of Indonesia's available human as well as technological resources. Most of the preservational actions are taken by the Government's archeological office, in this case the Directorate for the Preservation of Archaeological and Historical Remains. However, in some cases important buildings of cultural and historical significance are still used by families that are heirs of those 'monuments'. In those cases, the government occasionally gives the necessary aids for the restoration of those buildings.

The UNESCO-supported restoration of the unique and biggest Buddhist monument of Borobudur had given Indonesia archaeologists and restoration technicians a very important experience, out of which they have developed an ever updated expertise in conservation and restoration techniques. The Borobudur laboratory has become a center for the development as well as for training in relevant preservational technologies.

The well-restored monuments, especially those of the Hindu-Buddhist period, had inspired actions for the promotion of those monuments as objects of tourism. Some special arrangements have been made on the form of National Archaeological Parks, such as those founded for the two World Heritage temples, Borobudur and Prambanan.

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Architectural remains from the past abound in Indonesia, especially in the most densely populated island of Java. They range from the pre-historical monuments, categorically called megaliths, through the Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic periods, up to the colonial period when the presence of the Dutch colonies had been epitomized in many 'colonial-style' buildings. All of those remains are taken care of, to the best of Indonesia's available human as well as technological resources. Most of the preservational actions are taken by the Government's archeological office, in this case the Directorate for the Preservation of Archaeological and Historical Remains. However, in some cases important buildings of cultural and historical significance are still used by families that are heirs of those 'monuments', hence called 'living monuments'. In those cases, the Government occasionally gives the necessary aids for the restoration of those buildings.

The UNESCO -supported restoration of the unique and biggest Buddhist monument of Barabudur had given Indonesian archaeologists and restoration technicians a very important experience, out of which they have developed an ever updated expertise in conservation and restoration techniques. The Barabudur laboratory has become a center for the development as well as for training in relevant preservational technologies, either nationally and regionally (ASEAN).

The well-restored monuments, especially those of the Hindu-Buddhist period, had inspired actions for the promotion of those monuments as objects of tourism. Some special arrangements have been made in the form of National Archaeological Parks, such as those founded for the two World Heritage temples, Barabudur and Prambanan, both in central Java. Recently a new Archaeological Park in Palembang, Sumatra, has been inaugurated by the President of The Republic of Indonesia. This last mentioned archaeological park covers an archaeological site presumably of the Sriwijaya kingdom.

The Indonesian Context

Indonesia is a large country consisting of more than 17.500 islands, located between two continents, Asia and Australia, as well as between

two oceans, the Indian and Pacific oceans. The equator crosses 3,500 miles of the Indonesian islands. Most of the land is fertile, although there are also some barren spots. A great variety of tropical plants is found in Indonesia, but they are 'used' in different ways. There are dense rain forests where some groups of people live and make their living. There are also the dry land for swidden cultivation, besides irrigated land for the wet rice cultivation.

Indonesia is a developing country whose population of 185 millions people forms a colorful mosaic of different religions and also ethnic groups, each of which having specific language, tradition and social structure. Indonesia's Prehistoric period dates back to the first millennium BC. This is evidenced by the discoveries of the fossils of the well-known prehistoric man *Meganthropus Palaeojavanicus* and *Pithecanthropus (Homo?) Erectus*, as well as many palaeolithic artifacts from the Early Stone Age. Later prehistoric periods witnessed the development of bronze and iron technology. Subsequently, the early Hindu and Buddhist cultural influences from India date from the 4-5th century. They flourished in the centuries, but declined in the 16th century with the arrival of Islam. From the 17th century up to World War II, most of the country was occupied by the Dutch and then the Japanese during the last part of the Second World War. On August 17th, 1945, Indonesia finally proclaimed its independence after an intensive struggle, both physically and diplomatically.

Considering Indonesia's long cultural history, since prehistoric times, and the reality of the many existing ethnic groups found at present, it is understandable that Indonesia has a rich variety of archaeological remains, either in the form of artifacts or whole sites, ranging from prehistoric to Hindu-Buddhist, Islamic, and colonial ones. As for monuments, Indonesia has them from all periods : from prehistoric monuments (especially menhirs and dolmens), to Hindu and Buddhist temples, and in subsequent eras mosques, churches, as well as palaces built by Indonesian kings from different regions, traditional *adat* houses, and also private and public buildings of Portuguese or Dutch colonial-style. There are some five thousands monuments and sites including buildings or groups of buildings made of stone, brick, and wood.

Realizing the importance of our cultural property for the appreciation and development of science, Indonesia's history and culture, since

the beginning the government conducts protection and preservation of Indonesia's cultural property, This is to enhance the awareness of our national heritage and cultural identity.

The legal aspect for preservation and presentation (a.o. for cultural tourism) of monuments in Indonesia is based on Indonesia's Constitution (Undang-undang Dasar 1945), particularly article 32 which mentions that government should support and promote the national culture, and again article 33 which mentions that all natural and cultural assets should be managed for the welfare of the Indonesian people. Especially concerning the preservation of monuments, article 32 of the Constitution had been further elaborated in the Law No. 5 issued by the Government of The Republic of Indonesia in 1992 on The Protection of Cultural Property, substituting the *Monumenten Ordonnantie* (Ordinance on Monuments) No. 238, issued by the Dutch Colonial Government in 1931.

Article 2 of the Law No. 5/1992 mentions that the purpose of the protection of cultural property and sites is to conserve and utilize them for the advancement of the national culture of Indonesia. Regarding tourism in particular, in which cultural tourism is included, there is the Law No. 9 on Tourism, issued in 1990.

Preservation Management

In Indonesia, preservation measures, or conservation in a broad sense, follow a complete sequence that includes diagnosis as the first step. A specific diagnosis should be applied for each case, Feed-back information on the eventual success or failure of the practice will allow a steady improvement in the classification of deterioration processes and their appropriate remedies.

The term "preservation" is used in its broadest sense; it includes (legal) protection, (physical) maintenance, restoration, as well as conservation in a strict sense. The preservation of monuments that have undergone weathering processes involves two steps. The first step is the restoration of the monument by dismantling (if necessary) and rebuilding, which is sometimes followed by engineering improvements to overcome the mechanical damage and make the monument safe from water intrusions. The second step is the conservation of the material(s), which in-

volves cleaning, repairing and consolidation of the material followed by treatment with the appropriate chemicals. If the weathering of the material has not reached an advanced stage, conservation work may be performed *in situ*. This has some disadvantages, however, such as operational difficulties. Certain kinds of repairs are impossible to be applied *in situ*, and need more precaution. Nevertheless, monuments made of brick cannot always be dismantled due to certain archaeological or technical considerations, and conservation can only be carried out *in situ*.

In principle, any conservation of a monument is archaeological. The conservation method must therefore be scientifically reliable and account for archaeological principles. The Law No. 5/1992 also gives guidelines in dealing with conservation efforts.

One of the archaeological principles that should be followed is that any conservation and restoration of monuments must perceive the archaeological value, i.e. the originality or at least the integrity of the material, the workmanship, the architectural design and setting. Furthermore, the original building materials should be conserved, especially those having a high architectural value (even if they are deteriorated) and not to be replaced by new materials.

There are also technical principles of material conservation that should be followed. The methods used should be effective and efficient, from both the technical and economical points of view. Any chemicals used should be safe for either the monument, the environment, and the people that deals with it. The conservation should be long-lasting and as reversible as possible for future corrections if necessary. It is also realized that destruction of the site may influence the preservational state of the monument. Thus, mere conservation and maintenance of monuments is not enough. The sites on which monuments stand must also be preserved with great care.

The tropical climate sometimes does harm to the monument and the site. The site may also be polluted physically. Erosion of the site may be due to nature, such as rainfall or flooding, but is sometimes also caused by agricultural activity. Moreover, large-scale activities around the site, such as the construction of factories or new cities or other regional development nearby the site, without proper coordination, may have

negative impacts on the site. Integrated efforts to overcome or anticipate those detrimental outcomes include systematic zoning (of respectively the sanctuary, the buffer, and the facilities areas), as well as landscaping, plantation, application of regulations and guidance for visitors and the community in the neighbourhood of the site. These efforts are expected to give positive effects both in preserving the monuments and their sites, and in promoting tourism and the development of the region.

The Indonesian National Development program had taken into account all aspects of national needs and competence comprehensively, including those related to the preservation of national cultural properties. Indonesia has just passed its first phase of long term development project (1969 - 1994). In that phase we have been able to restore and conserve about 300 monuments and sites, while the rest are still maintained in the conventional and traditional way.

Presentation Management in Relation With Cultural Tourism

Tourism, in which cultural tourism is included, becomes Indonesia's third priority of non-petrol commodity in getting national income. In this regard, our monuments become important cultural assets for cultural tourism.

As mentioned in article 2 of Law No. 5/1992 on Cultural Property, the preservation of national cultural property is not merely meant for preservation *per se*, but also to utilize them for the advancement of the Indonesian national unity. Furthermore, article 19 of the same Law mentions that cultural property may be utilized for religious, sosial, touristic, educationa, scientific, and other cultural purposes. However, such a utilization may not be undertaken in a manner which is in contrary to the means of protection of cultural property. So, the use of monuments for cultural tourism should be in line with the Law No. 5/1992. Articles number 6.c and 32 of the Law No. 9/1990 on Tourism also mention that cultural tourism, that the use of monuments as objects has to take into consideration the preservational aspects of monuments.

In general, tourism promotion and management is the responsibility of the Directorate General for Tourism, Department of Tourism, Post, and Telecommunucations. However, in most provinces, cultural tourism

regarding visits to monuments is regulated by the respective local government regulations (*Peraturan Daerah*). Meanwhile, for Borobudur and Prambanan temples which are regarded as national cultural heritage, a Presidential Decree no. 1/1992 applies. The decree deals with the assignment and management of an archaeological park of Borobudur (and Prambanan), a governmental company called ; "The Borobudur (and Prambanan) Archaeological Park Limited Company", under the auspices of the Directorate General for Tourism. The revenue goes to the central government exchequer, while the Directorate General for Culture remains to have the responsibility to preserve the monuments by using the yearly allocated budget from the central government.

There is a close coordination between the Directorate General for Tourism and the Directorate General for Culture in managing monuments for cultural tourism. Specifically with the archaeological park management the division of responsibility is as follows. The Directorate General for Culture, and in this case especially the Directorate for Development and Preservation of Historical and Archaeological Remains, should have the responsibility to preserve and conserve the temple stones (or whatever materials involved), to control the stability of the monument, and to safeguard the monuments. The archaeological park management, on the other hand; should be responsible for the maintenance of the park, its cleaning from time to time, the safeguarding of the park, and the management of ticket sales and souvenir shops in the park.

In order to promote the idea that tourism in Indonesia should support culture, in such a way that culture will be sustained in all its best qualities, the Indonesian government supported by UNESCO conducted an International Conference on cultural Tourism, held in Yogyakarta on 24-26th of November, 1992. This conference was based on a realization that universal tourism has become a major global activity and the third major international trade. Therefore tourism has a tremendous potential impact on all aspects of life.

There is also an interdependency between culture and tourism, because all forms of universal tourism exercise a cultural effect on tourists as well as the people of the visited country. Universal tourism may also have beneficial or harmful impacts on cultural life of the community or cultural monument. In the meantime we are all regarded as stewards of

our common heritage, and thus having the responsibility to maintain our culture and the tourism related to it for future generation.

The results of the conference, called "The Yogyakarta Declaration", read as follows :

1. The relationship between tourism and the natural and cultural environment must be managed so that the environment is sustainable in the long term. While recognizing that tourism can be a positive activity, it must not be allowed to damage the resource, prejudice its future enjoyment or bring an unacceptable impact.
2. In any location, harmony must be sought between the needs of the visitor, the place, and the community.
3. Tourism development should be guided by a planning process involving broad community participation which ensures a proper balance between economic, social, cultural, and human objectives.
4. The success of any proposed action is dependent on the interrelationship of government, the host communities and the tourism industry.

The "Yogyakarta Declaration" also urged that :

1. Governments to introduce and enforce legislation which will ensure the protection of national cultures while facilitating the optimum development of suitable forms of tourism activity.
2. Governments to give priority to education which leads to national cultural awareness at all levels in the community including the teaching of comparative religion as part of the understanding of other cultures.
3. Members of the tourism Industry to train their staff and prepare their clients to be sensitive to and respectful of the national cultures of host countries.
4. Members of the tourism industry to sustain natural and cultural resources by investing in programs of conservation, preservation and interpretation.
5. Educational institutions at all levels to understand that sustainable tourism development requires a high level of skills in many inter-

related disciplines and that adequate resources be allocated for programs to this end.

6. Host communities including young people working in special interest groups and Non-Governmental Organizations to participate actively in the tourism development process and advocate action that sustains the balance between national culture and universal tourism.

THE DANCE IN INDONESIA

This short survey on Indonesian Dance will be divided into two sections. The first one will deal with the *traditional dance*, and the second one with the more or less antipode of it, the *contemporary dance*. These sections will only deal with dances that are considered "serious", leaving aside those forms of dance that are purely recreational and of western origin.

Traditional Dance

More than 300 languages are found in Indonesia. It implies that within the Indonesia nation there are the same number of ethnic groups, each having its own culture, defined mainly by its language. The magnitude of those ethnic groups in terms of the number of people identified with each of them, however, varied greatly, from that consisting of only a few families to that having tens of millions of people. The dimensions of the areas covered by these ethnic groups as their traditional homeland also vary, but not necessarily in a positive correlation to the number of people within each group.

Almost each ethnic group has its own kind of dance, traditionally handed down from generation to generation. Some of them are so closely related in terms of technique and style, that they can be collapsed into something that might be called "a family of dance styles". These 'families' of dance styles are mostly concurrently identified by similar types of musical instruments used., as well as song styles. Unfortunately, there has not been a systematic study to delineate the boundaries of those 'families of styles'.

The entire traditional dances in Indonesia can be classified according to the basic stance (legs and feet basic position). The first class of dance styles is characterized by a frontal position of both legs, that is, both knees are facing the front. In dances of this category the legs may either occasionally or normally be flexed, with knees basically facing the front, although sometimes may be slightly inclined to the left or to the right following the movements of the legs. This class comprises dances from the islands of Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, Irian, the islands to the east of Lombok, and most dances from Sumatera, except Minangkabau (West Sumatera).

The second class of dances is that having a clearly defined turn-out

position of the legs. In their basic position the knees are facing left and right respectively. To a greater or lesser degree the dances within this class had been influenced by the classical Indian dance expounded in the widely known Sanskrit manual on theatre, the *Bharatiya Natyasastra*. Included within this class are dances of the Javanese people of Central- and East-Java, those of Bali, part of Lombok, and the Sundanese dances of West Java.

There is still a third class of dance style, namely that having a turn-out plus a crossed positioning of the legs from time to time while the dancer moves. The typical style of the Minangkabau dances has it. This stance is basic for the traditional martial arts of Indonesia, called the *pencak silat*. Most of Minangkabau dances, excluding the file-dances, are integrated within one system of designed movements with the *pencak silat* technique. Dance is thus considered as the embellishment aspect of *pencak silat*.

As to the function of dance in Indonesian traditional societies, it is also diverse. There are cases in Indonesian history when an ethnic group rose to become a stratified society, through the intermediary of state formation. In such societies the uppermost stratum of the society, the peak of which is the king, is as a rule given a privilege to own special attributes, among others special form of art. Consequently, a distinction between the arts of the elites and the arts of the commoners was made, and even intensified from time to time. The center of the state, where the ruling elites lived, became then a center of excellence. It was in those centers that the heights of aesthetic achievements were reached, either in literature, in music, as well as in dance.

Thus, one among the functions of dance has been as an attribute of status within a society. Another function of dance found among Indonesian ethnic cultures is that of a religious nature. Dances are sometimes used as a means for supernatural healing. Still in other cases, dances are performed as an enactment of cosmic powers. Moreover, there are also dances that are used as means to channel out one's devotion to God. Aside from those religious function, the dance may also function as an entertainment, a pastime, or a means to exercise one's feelings for refinement.

Whatever their original functions were, many of the traditional dances are now entering the modern stage. Put in another word, they are now undergoing a development as a strictly performing art. In some cases the dances

can be denoted as having a double life: on the one hand they are still vitally maintaining their original functions in their respective ethnic cultures, while on the other hand they are developed into variations for the secular and democratic national stage.

Indonesian Contemporary Dance

The term *contemporary dance* has been used to signify the dances more recent than *modern dance*, as it is called in the West. Modern dance came about as a reaction against the established classical ballet. The exponents of modern dance regard classical ballet as having reached a stagnant stage of technical development, aside from its themes that always seem to involve beautiful tales and do not allow a free interpretation of real-life problems. The technical rules are so rigid that they leave no room for the dancer to present his own approach.

The modern dance movement itself has been conceived as having three subsequent generations, the first one being that concerned with personal impression as well as style of each choreographer, the second one being a generation of choreographers who tried to find new foundations in dance techniques, while the third generation consists of choreographers who will always run for new ideas for each of their works.

The ever-spreading impact of modern dance in turn influenced the ballet style itself and "modern ballet" developed. Unlike modern dance, which rejected any ties with the ballet technique, modern ballet is still based on the technique of classical ballet. It differs from classical ballet in that modern ballet is still developing its treasury of movement, often even adding movement from outside classical ballet that were considered taboo, such as twisting the torso. What has been known as "Jazz Ballet" concentrates on exploring the twisting and shuddering of various parts of the body.

Undeniably, what happened in the West also influenced the dance scene in Indonesia. Those influenced most by the innovations of dance elsewhere in the world were Indonesian choreographers possessing a keen interest to follow developments in the rest of the world. Most of them, however, started out working in a certain traditional dance style.

One of these pioneers was a choreographer named Jodjana. Orig-

nally from Yogyakarta, he later became a resident of the Netherlands. Together with other modern dance choreographers of the same generation, Jodjana created dances that were entirely choreographed (although many ideas from the classical dances of India were adopted) to realize his personal impression of certain themes. One of his dances recorded on film depicted the god Siva, the Creator.

The echo of the second generation of modern dance, in particular, as represented by the Martha Graham studio, was captured by such Indonesian choreographers as Wisnoe Wardhana, Bagong Kussudiardjo and Seti-Arti Kailola. The first two of these choreographers brought with them strong tradition of Yogyakarta dance, while Set-Arti Kailola from the outset started with the techniques of Martha Graham.

Their creation differed from one another. Seti-Arti presented the concentrated style of Martha Graham while Bagong and Wisnoe employed some elements of Graham but further developed their own ways in rehearsing and composing their dances. Bagong and Wisnoe, apart from placing themselves on the modern side of the dance world, are distinguished by their efforts to remain Indonesian. They studied other styles of Indonesian dances besides the Javanese style they had already mastered since childhood, and here and there, inserted this collection of techniques into their own choreography.

Bagong eventually succeeded in developing a uniquely personal style. Both the dances and the music of Bagong's creations are based on free compositions originating from certain elements in traditional dances. In his music, colorful elements create a distinctive sound. He employs instruments, such as the *rebab*, a two-stringed lute, the *kendang* a double-headed drum, etc. in a unique composition. In the dance themselves, the movement of the toes, the torso and the arms reflect certain Indonesian traditions, whether from Java, Sunda, Bali or other regions. This synthesis of music and movement creates a sense of excitement: rhythms that sound like a barely restrained storm, subtle movement of toes so swift as to move the body weight, movement of the torso and head in the opposite direction from that of the feet, and so on.

Sardono W. Kusumo is a choreographer belonging to a younger generation. He has never looked for a special expressive style or dance technique, but in each of his work, he has tried to explore new possibilities.

With Samgita, he asked his group to experiment with a kinetic exploration based on the visual stimulation provided by reliefs of the classical Hindu temple at Prambanan, Central Java. He also asked them to express their kinetic response to nature's stimulation. Sensitivity to nature is basic to the creation of his dance. In his work, *The Widow from Dirah* (known as *la Sorciere de Dirah* when performed in France), he tried something different again by integrating elements from various theatrical traditions, those of Java and Bali in particular.

There was another unprecedented step taken by Sardono in *Meta Ekologi*. While he had previously let his dancers move in the freedom of the air, in this work he made the dancers wallow in mud. The dancers became sculpture-like figures moving slowly in a medium which inhibits and restrict them. Other methods employed by Sardono are the multimedia, the experimentation with the vocal sounds, the participation of villagers, as well as pure formal composition.

In the development of new works of dance in Indonesia already mentioned, we ought to take into account types of dance works that utilize the treasury of tradition as starting point and source. Among the names that might be mentioned are such choreographers as Retno Maruti, who uses the vocabulary of Javanese dance as her foundation; Tom Ibnur, Deddy Luthan, and Gusmiati Suid, who use the Minang dance as a starting point; Wiwiek Sipala, who has worked on South Sulawesi dance styles; and Yulianti Parani, who uses Betawi dances for a source from which to take certain characteristics that she develops further.

This panorama is still to be completed by new dance works in which compositions are based on ballet techniques (classical, modern, or jazz). The works will use ballet (as with choreographers like Farida Feisol, Yulianti Parani, Maya Tamara and others) to start from and will often bring out the Indonesian image through the use of certain movement which borrow techniques and inspiration from the treasury of dance created by the ethnic groups in Indonesia, or through their costumes and music.

17 June, 1995

REFLECTIONS ON MULTICULTURALISM*)

In human life in this world there has always been the dynamics between multifariousness and universalness. It has been the preoccupation of students of culture to seek empirical knowledge, and henceforth to establish concepts and build theories, with the ultimate goal of among others explaining that very dynamics in cultural development. The sheer fact of variousness of cultures in the world, however, does not hamper the adherents of one culture or another to pursue the claim that his particular culture is the bearer of universal values. Viewed from a scientific angle, it is widely acknowledged that such a claim is at odds with empirical facts. Nevertheless, historical facts have shown to us too that those kinds of a claim, from era to era, have yielded an appearance of being true, due to ideologies that were (and are) promoted through forceful and determined political endeavours.

Let us reflect for a while on the meaning of culture in human life. Culture, the core of which comprises the value system and the conglomerate of basic concepts within it, is an integrated set of ideas to which members of the respective society orient their behaviour. As such, culture should be considered as a grace of God, by which man is given the chance to direct his own deeds and give a meaning to his own life. Culture is the property, as well as the boundary, of a society. albeit, the boundaries of cultures are flexibly shifting within the course of the history of societies.

The most explicit unit of bearers of a specific culture is the ethnic group. The very term "ethnic" (from Greek *ethnikos*, meaning "foreign, of a national group"), implies a distancing from, and also suggesting a lower scale than, one's own culture. It happened to be used initially in European discourse. Hence, the science of Ethnography and Ethnology

*) Keynote Address for the Seminar on International contemporary Art: Unity in Diversity held in Jakarta, April 29-30, 1995 in conjunction with: the Exhibition of Contemporary Art of the Non-Aligned Countries, Jakarta April 28 -- June 30, 1995.

used to deal with 'foreign', non-European societies. The change of name into Anthropology indicated the change of attitude of the scientists : they began to regard different societies with specific cultures within Europe itself, even the mainstream 'general' European culture, as ethnic too.

A cultural unity may also center around a religion which from the very onset was meant to be followed by all people of the world, irrespective of their ethnicity or nationality. The core of these great religion consists of the dogma, or a set of doctrines, the actualizational rules of which form the characteristics of the respective religion. However, the further implementaions of those doctrines may partly be adapted in a special manner within each different society. Thus, varieties of expressions of the same doctrines may be observed from place to place.

Since peoples of the world are moving spatially, and interact mentally and physically, either in a faster or a slower pace, the lines of boundary between cultures may shift, or overlap. There are even many examples of largescale migrations or culonizations into lands that are already inhabited. Those migrations or colonizations had often brought forth a superimposition of one culture upon another. The resulting amalgamated social unity out of those migrational and colonizational esses became then multicultural. However, multiculturalism is not only predest as the outcome of such processes. There are other conditions, other processes of state formation that can also bring about a multicultural society.

Within a historical perspective. types of state with reference to multiculturalism can be differentiated as follows. The first type is that resulting from endeavours of *imperium* building. The empire consists of many originally independent states, mostly kingdoms. The states under the control and power of the emperor may have citizens of a specific ethnicity, thence they have their own cultures, possibly quite at variance with the culture of the imperial ruling group. Taking the Roman empire as an example, it can be observed that the variety of people with their divergent cultures within the empire's hegemony is relatively great, and yet a distinctly Roman character of their historical and archaeological remains are present throughout the empire. To yield themselves to Roman-ness was then an expression of tribute to the hegemonical power. The many cultures within the empire were pushed aside to give way to

the greatness of the Roman Empire. Therefore, although the many cultures were there, they were not given due recognition as such.

The second type of a state is that which came into existence through a process of colonization and occupation. Vast lands were occupied by waves of migrants, resulting in greater or lesser confrontations with the indigenous inhabitants. After a long period of ever expanding colonization, and when subsequently a state was made with the colonizers as the majority and or the holder of power, then the cultural situation became settled : the colonizers were considered as the bearers of mainstream culture within the new state, whereas the indigenous population along with their respective cultures are marginalized.

Within this second type of state multiculturalism may develop into a more complicated matter. Oftentimes social and cultural discord does not happen only between the colonizers and the indigenous people of the territory, but also amongst the different sections of the immigrants themselves. Within a typical example of this kind of a state, for instance the United States of America, Canada, and Australia, discussions on these matters abound. In fact, the launching of the issue of multiculturalism itself originated from these countries, where the problems are from time to time acutely felt.

The last, third type of state where multiculturalism is very likely to prevail is a state based on the principle of unification. In this type, more than one ethnic group decide to unite themselves and make a new state, thus forming one new nation; the motivational background of that decision being the recognition of the same ideal for the future, a common historical background, and or a closely relatedness of their cultures. As an example, Indonesia, India, and Thailand can be mentioned. In the Indonesian case, more than 300 ethnic groups, large and small, are united into a newly formed nation and making a newly formed state. Within this state every ethnic group has the same status as members of the unified nation. It means that no notion of majority-minority dichotomy is put into any national discourse regarding these indigenous ethnic groups.

That fact is indeed contrary to what is found in most states of the second type, where what is as a rule called "minorities" are identical to ethnic groups. Within the second and third types of a state, then, there is a difference of general or induced attitude towards what is "primordialism"

In second type states "primordiation" tend to be regarded as something negative, as an indication of unwillingness to 'join the new nation wholeheartedly'. It is also regarded as a kind of retardedness, an inability to cope with the 'modern' demands. To the contrary, in states of the third type based on the idea of unification, regard towards one's primordial bounds is deemed necessary and positive, as it gives the feeling of rootedness in one's own culture, and at the same time that feeling will still be valid within the new nationality. The difference lies in the fact that in states of the second type the original land of the respective ethnic group lies mostly outside the territory of the present state, whereas in states of the third type the land of origin of the ethnic group is still within the territory of the new nation.

There are indeed well-known examples of second type states in which some ethnic groups are indigenous. In typical states of this kind the indigenous culture becomes marginalized, because the dominant culture is that of the colonizing immigrants. However, there is a variant of this type of a state, in which the indigenous culture and that of the immigrants became amalgamized, forming a new hybrid culture. In this case, multiculturalism does not create such a severe problem as it is very likely to be found in a typical second type state.

Social and cultural situations are empirical facts, which can however, be either analyzed scientifically, or addressed in a political perspective. The present political perspectives regarding multiculturalism vary from country to country, and even from group to group within a society. Advocacy is often given to the "indigenous", the "ethnic", or the "minorities", which are mostly identified with each other. However, the advocates often use the paradigm of the majority, and thus giving the impression of a patronizing agent. Contrary to advocacy, there are sometimes pressures directed towards those "ethnic minorities" that are considered as not willing to conform to the so-called "general norm".

What is considered as the general norm within a multistate unity is determined by the holder of hegemony. It is the hegemonic voices that construct the set of basic norms and its derivatives. Even the rules regarding its procedure of implementation are often set up by the hegemony holder, and thus often claimed to be universal. A historical fact that could be made an illustration for this thesis is the mental structures

and related rules of behaviour that have been implanted in colonized societies through the colonists' western education system. It goes without saying that some parts of those constructions introduced by colonizers have been adopted by the colonized people and incorporated within their culture. Some other parts of the constructions are, however, modified to meet the specific needs, taste and feelings of the receiving people.

The upsurge of vehement political expressions from local ethnic groups may most probably happen as a result of cultural under-exposure of those groups within a multicultural society. Against the political and sociocultural dominance of the majority, ethnic minorities are often found struggling for recognition, especially in states of the first and second type. Referring to this problem of recognition, related to the problem of rights, Jurgen Habermas¹ somewhere posed a rhetoric question : "Can a theory of rights that is so individualistically constructed deal adequately with struggles for recognition in which it is the articulation and assertion of collective identities that seems to be at stake?".

The answer should be "no". The modern movement, with individualism as its main feature, within the history of human civilizations has indeed its paramount contribution in promoting human achievements. It has enhanced scientific explorations and developments, and through the dissemination of which had succeeded in forming a layer of global culture, transecting a multitude of cultures in the world. However, it should not mean that that cultural layer only is to be regarded as the valid one to be reckoned with. On the contrary, individual cultures (of ethnic groups, of nations) need to be maintained for the sake of collective identity and giving people a feeling of rootedness. Indeed, art as well as science require a substantial amount of allocation of individual freedom for its development. Along the development there may occur from time to time a spur and frequent emergence of innovations that gives momentum to a revolution. But then, as history has demonstrated, after a revolutionary development, there follows a period of setting into an equilibrium. The function of the human being in a society is both as explorer and as conformer. It is the balance between individuality and collectivity that makes a culture exist and flourish.

Within a multicultural social entity, when the different cultures interact in a mutually beneficial mode, pluralism is very likely to exist.

That social entity as a whole contain several cultural units, each of which offering values, sets of norms and concepts, that can be referred to, even chosen, by members of the whole social entity. Put in another way, there is a multiple sources of values, norms, and concepts within that social entity. That multitude of sources makes a man either be able to jump from one source to another, from time to time, depending on the demand of a certain situation, or he can be a bi-cultural man permanently. In the last case, a bi-cultural man can allocate one source of values for a certain field of activity, and another source for another field. In fact, a man can even be a tri-cultural being, such as for instance a cosmopolitan Indonesian : he refers to his sub-national ethnic culture for domestic matters, to his national culture for official matters, and to global cosmopolitan culture for his enjoyment, recreational and business affairs.

Going back to the issue of collective identity, we should address the problem of cultural resilience. The problem is relevant to a culture facing or confronting another culture, or other cultures simultaneously. The culture having a weaker position tends to generate a mechanism of survival and resistance. The idioms of resistance, however, are sometimes using also the conceptual vocabulary of the stronger culture faced by it. Basically, idioms of resistance can be classified into three categories : the first one comprises those having a mode of evasion and deliberate neglect ; the second one comprises those having a mode of confrontation and opposition; while the third one comprises those forming compromises.

As has been discussed earlier, within multicultural societies of the second type states there are the so-called ethnic minorities. Those 'minorities' in that kind of a state does not automatically represent nor identical with their 'home' ethnic groups. The ethnic group at home may very well be a majority. The two normally have different access to mass media facilities.

The problem of cultural resistance is indeed closely related to the media. The media has an empowering quality that may determine the success or failure of the maintenance of culture. The other way around, it can also be asserted that the media is offering a challenge : an offer

to be strategically used, manipulated, and enhanced as a means to fight for an idea. The work of art is also a media, although not necessarily a mass media. It has, though, a special quality, in that it is a symbol-laden media.

NOTES

1. Habermas, Jürgen

"Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic Constitutional State", in Amy Gutman (ed.), *Multiculturalism : Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton, New Jersey : Princeton University Press, 1994 : 107 -- 148.

A SURVEY ON THE CULTURE OF INDONESIA

Periods of Cultural Development

The oldest phase of Indonesia's cultural history is the prehistoric phase, with the subsequent periods of the stone age and the bronze-iron age. The stone age is, as elsewhere, divided into the palaeolithic, mesolithic, and neolithic periods, each one characterized by a technological trait in making stone tools. The neolithic period, the last phase of the stone age, is characterized by the smoothly polished stone tools, especially axes. These axes were presumably used in agricultural activities, in analogy with those used by some tribes that still use them up to the present. It has been hypothesized that the use of neolithic tools parallels the social development into sedentary life, while the subsequent bronze-iron age parallels the development of specialized groups within a society, even with a possibility of a rudimentary social stratification.

Each tribe, within its relative seclusion of life, has through the ages developed into ethnic groups, bringing along its basic prehistoric culture through its later developments, sometimes incorporating changes resulting from encounters with other cultures. The history of cultural encounters, however, is not the same for every ethnic group. There are ethnic cultures that display a predominant Hindu-buddhist influence, while others are more predominantly Islamic, still others have neither of the two religious influences, but directly came into contact with westerners that occasionally brought along Christianity. Ethnic groups that had the experience in statecraft since the earliest time known, and developed continuously up to the dawn of Indonesia's birth as a newly unified and independent nation, normally have all the four main "layers" of culture, namely the prehistoric one, the Indianized or Hindu-Buddhist one, the Islamic, and the 'western' or 'modern' uppermost layer.

After their 'prehistoric' phase, most ethnic societies in Indonesia had underwent further development in Indonesia's historic periods. The identification of a 'historic' or 'proto historic' period is of course that from the scientist's point of view; it is characterized by the availability of written

evidence *about* the society concerned. It need not be the society itself that produce the written evidence. For the society concerned it was more the introduction of a new culture that was most important, irrespective of whether it would left written evidence for historians of their future or not. Nevertheless, the introduction and the use of writing had indeed played a significant role in cultural development, because it may then convey ideas more explicitly and more widely.

There are four subsequent phases in Indonesia's historic period taken as a whole, namely the Hindu-buddhist, the Islamic, the colonial, and the independent Republic of Indonesia of the present. Each period had had something to offer within the sphere of sculpture. The first one, the Hindu-Buddhist period, introduced Hindu and Buddhist ideas of divinity with all the relevant concepts that could be transformed into tangible, plastic form. Hence, the multitude of symbolic forms of either anthropomorphic or non-anthropomorphic character. Among the non-anthropomorphic forms that was very much used is the lotus flower, called the *padma* (red lotus), *kumuda* (white lotus), or *utpala* (blue lotus). It has been used in both Hindu and Buddhist statuary. The *padma* symbolizes several concepts, the most important of which are: the seat of the highest divinity, the birth of the universe, the birth of Buddha, the ultimate truth, the seat of sacred vital energy (within a person doing *yoga*), compassion, etc.

Life of whatever kind in this universe has been interpreted as undulating and ever flowing; thence the dominant curvilinear lines and convex planes in Hindu-Buddhist statuary. The flowing rhythm of lines can be seen on all kinds of sculptural works, from freestanding statues to narrative reliefs. It is not only evident in big stone statues, but also in small utilitarian objects made of gold.

Islamic art is predominantly ornamental, since Islam discourages the representation of living creatures, either humans or animals. Thus it developed the intricacies of foliage and geometrical compositions as decorative art. However, since Hinduism and Buddhism had been of great influence in Java since eight to ten centuries before the introduction of Islam on that island, the preference to depict figures had been retained. Early Islamic art in Central and East Java showed examples of depiction of figures disguised in compositions of foliage. Later on, especially in Cirebon, West Java, an art of making disguised figures in caligraphic compositions

also developed. Along with those specific developments that attempted to cope with Islamic preference, almost regulation, of non-depiction of creatures, however, the art of puppet play still survived. Islamic pioneering leaders, the *walis*, were even attributed as the inventors of the *wayang* puppet play. The *wayang* shadow puppet play, historically, had been known in Java at least since the tenth century A.D. Indeed, under the Islamic Javanese reign there had been a turning of attitudes towards the Hindu godheads: the Hindu supreme god Siva (in Javanese literature called Bhatara Guru) has been super-posed by the one and only god Sang Hyang Tunggal or Sang Hyang Wenang, conforming to the Islamic concept of 'Allah Subhanahu wa Ta'ala.

The colonial period, later on, had introduced the western ideas of visual art. Depiction of human figures, as well as any scene of nature, tended to be rendered in a naturalistic way. The eyes were then asked to scrutiny the realities of nature, and interpret it, -- if it was deemed as something necessary --, in terms of moods and associations to be generated. It is very unlike the eastern visual arts in general, and the various indigenous Indonesian arts in particular, which is from the very onset symbolical in character. Later development, after Indonesia's independence, has shown that Indonesian modern sculpture takes into consideration whatever trend there is in the international world of visual arts. Nevertheless, it has not been always only adoptions from the west that Indonesian sculptors are occupied with; some of them are also interested in studying and then using concepts or idioms from indigenous ethnic art.

Indonesia's Sculptural Heritage

Since prehistoric times the sculptural genius of Indonesia had made itself known through its remains in the form of sculptural works in durable materials. These works comprise those made of different kinds of stone, earthenware, and certain kinds of metal, especially iron and bronze. From time to time, through the centuries, there had been a development in the use of materials, either in terms of technical progress or in terms of the extension of the number of material varieties.

Technical ability and conceptual, symbolical faculties, had ever de-

veloped through a chain of innovations, incorporating a series of adoptions and re-interpretations of whatever elements taken from neighbouring or overseas nations. Art in general, and sculpture in particular, had always have particular functions in society. These functions also varies and occasionally had undergone changes in the ever developing societies in Indonesia, since prehistoric times.

The emergence of sculpture in a strict sence, that is the art of either chiselling, moulding, or casting materials into forms that somehow have a symbolic meaning, began in the Neolithic and Bronze-Iron Age in the Indonesian material-cultural history. The Neolithic Age is that phase of development when people are able to make tools made of stone with a fine velopment when people are able to make tools made of stone with a fine polish of their surface. At the same time the Neolithic prehistoric man also began to make stone monuments, either in the form of *menhirs* (rising, upright stone) or *dolmens* (simple structure configuration of stone boulders). All these developmet of man's capability in using stone coincided with the social development which made him live in a sedentary mode of life. They did not roam or live in caves anymore, but instead began to organize themselves in hamlets or villages, which should also mean that at the same time they had to develop the technology and art of making housing structures. The pioneers *cum* founding fathers of villages are still known in presentday local terms such as *cikal bakal* ("the primary seed") or *sang anaruka* ("the revered person who began to clear the forest to make a hamlet"). In some local cultures in Indonesia there is a village ceremony that involved a pair of super-sized effigy of the prime "father and mother" of the population. The pair of big effigies is made to dance or just walk in processions. Those big figures are manipulated by a person inside them. Examples that can be mentioned are the Jero Gede and Jero Luh pair known in Bali, the *huda-huda* of the northern Batak cultures, and the *ondel-ondel* of Jakarta.

It was also during the Neolithic Age that people began to develop the technology of baking clay. Different kinds of containers were made for practical as well as ceremonial use, and possibly, besides that also figures and figurines were made as sculpture in a strict sense. The sedentary mode of life had brought people further into the next phase of development:

through technological explorations getting the ability to make things out of metal. In Indoensia the metal initially used were bronze and iron at the same time, hence the name Bronze-Iron Age. The development of groups of people within a society with specific specialized capabilities had made this age also a society in which there was already a differentiation of professions.

Through both Neolithic and Bronze-Iron ages a faculty of erecting megalithic (large stone) structures had developed. It was conjectured that the sculpting in stone of dynamical naturalistic figures or scenes was only developed in the Bronze-Iron Age, while in the previous age it was sttical figures that prevail. The megalithic traditions in Indonesia turned to be lasting ones. They are found in different areas in Indonesia, with different varieties among them. They, moreover, through the ages had underwent transformations along with the different cultural changes, even acculturation processes, within each ethnic group. The most dominant basic concepts related to megalithic structures are:

- (1) the veneration of ancestors,
- (2) through ceremonies which involve the whole community,
- (3) using large stone structures of different types as the venue and or focal point of ceremony.

The forms of the stone structures itself, however, may change through the ages because of changing religious orientations. As a hypothetical example can be mentioned that the high rising Islamic tombstones found in Indonesia, as also the Sivatic *lingga* is in essence a continuation *cum* transformation of the basic idea behind the prehistoric *menhir* monument to commemorate the initial tribal leader. So much so is the *tugu pahlawan* (pillar-like structure to commemorate heroes) in presentday Indonesia.

In prehistoric sculpture there is a certain predominant trait related to the depiction of figures, namely the accentuation of the face or the head. Some of the large stone structures are in the form of upright anthropomorphic statues, either in a full or a rudimentary anthropomorphicity. The last mentioned category includes the "menhir statues", that is, upright stone pillars with a schematic indication of a human figure on it. Sometimes it is only the topmost part of the pillar that is chiselled out to make a simple rendering of a human face.

The depiction of just the human face, either on a larger surface or detached as a free-standing object, originated indeed in the prehistoric period. There are human faces depicted on stone sarcophaguses and on large stone monuments. A detached golden mask is also found in a neolithic prehistoric site of Pasir Angin, West Java. The deliberate pronouncement of the face seem to be based on a concept which considers the face as the most important and significant representative of the whole person. This idea survives up to the present, through many ethnic traditions, in the form of mask making and mask plays. The mask and mask play is often related to certain rituals, especially those relevant to ancestor commemorations. In some ethnic cultures the mask (ritual) play had been transformed into a purely theatrical performance. In those traditions, the mask is basically a representation of types of characters. Through the manipulation of shapes and lines in many artistic ways, benevolent characters are differentiated from malevolent ones, refined from strong ones, males from females, and so are all other finer character differences rendered into a large variety of mask forms.

Further cultural developments within ethnic groups had shown that in actual life it is the head that is considered as the most important part of a person, hence the differentiation of headgear or headdress. First of all, each and every ethnic group has a specific style of headdress. Within each ethnic group there is a further differentiation between daily and ceremonial headdresses, and also between male and female, as well as between higher and lower status in society.

Sculpture, in all periods of time, is addressing the demands of many aspects of life: religion, aesthetics, and the performance of social roles. hence, there are sculptural objects that were made to be used in religious ceremonies, such as the golden mask for the deceased, the statues of gods, the golden laddle, rosaries, etc. Besides, there are also objects that seemed to be made for sheer aesthetic expression and enjoyment, such as the golden bowl from Wanabaya, Central Java, with embossed scenes from the Rama story, the many kinds of terracotta ornamentations for different parts of the house, and the many kinds of adornments for the body. These adornments, from prehistoric down to early historic times, were made of different kinds of material, such as stone, terracotta, bronze, silver, and gold. Some of the house ornamentations and bodily adornments, along with the use of specific clothings, were also made to differentiate people of higher ranks from

the commoners.

The sculptural genius in Indonesia had been developed along with the acculturation processes undergone. There were not only development in symbolical meanings related to the many sculptural objects, but likewise, there was also a development in technology. The technique in iron forging and damascening to make big gongs as well as *kris* daggerlike weapons is among the noted technological feats of the Indonesians.

The Multiculturalism of Presentday Indonesia

In the newly formed nation of Indonesia there are a variety of ethnic groups with their typical cultural expressions. More than 300 languages are found in Indonesia. It implies that within the Indonesian nation there are the same number of ethnic groups, each having its own culture, defined mainly by its language. The magnitude of those ethnic groups in terms of the number of people identified with each of them, however, varied greatly, from that consisting of only a few families to that having tens of millions of people. The dimensions of the areas covered by these ethnic groups as their traditional homeland also vary, but not necessarily in a positive correlation to the number of people within each group.

Almost each ethnic group has its own style of dance, music, and visual arts, traditionally handed down from generation to generation. Some of the dances, for instance, are so closely related in terms of technique and style, that they can be collapsed into something that might be called "a family of dance styles". These 'families' of dance styles are mostly concurrently identified by similar types of musical instruments used, as well as song styles. Unfortunately, there has not been a systematic study to delineate the boundaries of those 'families of styles'.

In Indonesian traditional societies there is also a diversity of the function of performing arts. There are cases in Indonesian history when an ethnic group rose to become a stratified society, through the intermediary of state formation. In such societies the uppermost stratum of the society, the peak of which is the king, is as a rule given a privilege to own special attributes, among others special forms of art. Consequently, a distinction between the arts of the elites and the arts of the commoners was made, and even intensified from time to time. The center of the state, where the ruling

elites lived, became then a center of excellence. It was in those centers that the heights of aesthetic achievements were reached, either in literature, in music, as well as in dance and other forms of art.

Thus, one among the functions of art has been as an attribute of status within a society. A function of the dance, in particular, found among Indonesian ethnic cultures is that of a religious nature. Dances are sometimes used as a means for supernatural healing. Still in other cases, dances are performed as an enactment of cosmic powers. Moreover, there are also dances that are used as a means to channel out one's devotion to God. Aside from those religious function, the dance may also function as an entertainment, a pastime, or a means to exercise one's feelings for refinement.

Whatever their original functions were, many of the traditional art forms are now entering the modern stage. Many forms of traditional music, dance, and theatre are now undergoing a development as a strictly performing art. In some cases they can be denoted as having a double life: on the one hand they are still vitally maintaining their original functions in their respective ethnic cultures, while on the other hand they are developed into variations for the secular and democratic national stage.

Within the presentday Indonesian nation, each ethnic group is allotted its distinct place. The ethnic cultural heritage in general is considered a common national heritage of Indonesia. Cultural expressions of ethnic origin, as far as they are not in opposition to the agreed upon national philosophy of Indonesia, the *Pancasila*, are paid heed to, and maintained with care. They are even considered as one among the providers of national identity, along with the newly formed cultural achievements. Reciprocal appraisal, or mutual appreciation, among the different ethnic groups is then a prerequisite for the presentday Indonesian nation.

24 July, 1995

THE INDONESIAN PATRIMONY*)

The Indonesian patrimony consists of the legacies of all ethnic groups which are now united within the Indonesian nation. In the past there were kingdoms and even empires within the presentday Indonesian territory, which somehow had arose to the heights of civilization. Some of them had more than one ethnic group among their people. Interaction and sharing between different ethnic groups within one state has thus been a familiar experience in Indonesia since ancient times. Furthermore, people in Indonesia had relationships with people from outside the country, either for the sake of trade people from outside the country, either for the sake of trade or for the sake of religion. Those relationships had brought about acculturation processes, especially those happening in the centers of the many states, at different ages, in varied paces. It has been along those lines that culture developed in Indonesia. Two religion-based cultural currents have been influential in Indonesia : the first one has been the Hindu-Buddhist originating in India, and the second one has been the Islam which came to Indonesia carrying along some Persian elements.

The Indonesian patrimony consists of either tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Those cultural heritage can also be classified into the verbal and the non-verbal. What is valued as a national heritage is that which qualify as a provider of cultural identity, and of which people in general, on a national level, can be proud of.

Among the tangible cultural heritage, first of all should be mentioned those listed as World Heritage. To date Indonesia has two archaeological monuments listed, namely the Buddhist temple of Borobudur and Prambanan. Both Borobudur and Prambanan are present names of villages where the temples are found.

The temple of Borobudur is actually a Buddhist *stupa* set on a massive structure of a stepped pyramide. It consists of ten concentric levels, the first six of the lower levels having basically square plans, while the last four upper levels, including the big stupa in the center, being circular. This monument was a buddhist sanctuary, which had fallen into disuse somewhere in the fifteenth century A.D. or after. When it was

*) Published in the Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of Indonesia's Independence.

discovered in the beginning of the nineteenth century it was a heap of ruins. The peripheral parts of the structure have been dislocated, while the floors and walls remained more or less intact. The first restoration in the second decade of this century, executed during the Dutch colonial period in Indonesia, comprised mainly of reinstalling the fallen stones into their proper places, and the discovery of the lowermost hidden foot of the structure. Nevertheless, further decay and disorientation of parts of the walls were still on the way, caused by both water seepings from the soil and microbiological damage. To halt these damaging processes, then later on, during the early "development phase" of the independent Republic of Indonesia, namely between 1969 and 1983, a thorough restoration program had been executed on Borobudur. Preliminary studies on techno-architectural factors, on the use of chemicals to conserve the temple stones, as well as on soil, water, and biological factors, were made in cooperation with foreign experts, aided by the UNESCO and other foreign parties.

The temple of Borobudur was supposedly made in the 8th century A.D., by the Sailendra dynasty. Beautiful rows of reliefs adorn the walls and balustrades of the temple. The lowermost row of reliefs on the wall of the lowest terrace is now hidden behind an additional level, which was once put by the accient restores. It contains the Buddhist text *Karmavibhanga*, which relates the consequences of good and bad conduct. Scenes from daily life, possibly in most cases referring to the contemporaneous daily scenes and environment of ancient Centreal Java, were depicted along the narration. Further up the levels, exposed, there are other narative reliefs, depicting the stories of the Buddha and bodhisattvas, Statues of the Buddha, in this case technically called the Tathagata, hare put in a great number of niches as well as hollow perforated stupas. The pantheon in the form of statues found in Borobudur indicates a Vajrayana current of Buddhism, and as such it was the earliest known overtly depicted Vajrayana pantheon in the world.

The other temple listed as World cultural Heritage, the Siva temple of Prambanan, is the greatest among the early Hindu temples in Indonesia. A specific local interpretation of the Hindu pantheon is found in its most complete form in this temple. The main current of Hinduism found in Indonesia has been sivaism. In Prambanan the main statue of Siva is accompanied by the other members of the Hindu trinity, Brahma

and Visnu, in a slightly smaller dimensions, each housed in a separate building. The main building where Siva is housed there are three smaller chambers for the three divine personages accompanying Siva established specifically in Hindu-Javanese pantheon. They are namely Durga Mahisasuramardini the consort, occupying the chamber facing the north, the second one is Ganesa the son, put in a chamber back to back to that of Siva, and the third one is Agastya the divine envoy who may descend into the world of man, occupying the south chamber. The entrance to Siva's sanctuary is guarded by Mahakala and Nandisvara, corroborated by a description of Siva's abode in a later work of literature of the 11th century, the *Smaradahana*.

Other temple complexes of the Hindu-Buddhist period are found in many more places in Indonesia, especially in the islands of Java, Sumatra and Bali. From this period and the next there are also palaces in different centers of kingdoms in many parts of Indonesia, often displaying remarkable works in wood of a masterly quality. Moreover, some places have developed into centers of craftsmanship in gold and silver artwork, such as Banda Aceh in Aceh, Kuta Gede in the Yogya area, Kendari in Southeastern Sulawesi, and Celuk in Bali. There are still other places in Indonesia that are wellknown for woodcarving. Jepara in Java, Asmat in Irian, and last but not least the whole island of Bali, produce the finest works of art in wood, either for functional uses or for sheer aesthetic enjoyment.

Apart from the tangible forms of cultural heritage, Indonesia can also be proud of its music, dance, theatre, as well as literature. The oldest classical literary products are those written in Old Javanese. The Old Javanese literature was very well nourished by the then internationally renowned Sanskrit literature. However, much more those written in old Javanese. The Old Javanese literature was very well nourished by the then internationally renowned Sanskrit literature. However, much more Indonesian ingenuity had been put into the bulk of old Javanese literature, so much so as it developed then its own merit. Much more metrical patterns had been designed by old Javanese poets after the basic format of the Sanskrit *kavya* poetry. Sophistication in figures of speech, as well as penetrating philosophical explorations are merits that have made the Old Javanese literature rise to the status of classical literature. Later local renderings in Javanese, Balinese, Malay, and possibly also other local

languages, have been made from time to time, displaying more and more interpretative faculties. Some of the old Javanese masterworks to be mentioned are among others the *kakawins* (poetical works after the *kavya* model) titled *Ramayana*, *Arjunawiwaha*, *Bharatayuddha*, *Smaradahana*, *Bhomakawya*, *Sumanasantaka*, *Ghatotkacasraya*, *Hariwangsa*, *Kresnayana*, *Perthayajnya*, *Siwaratrikalpa*, *Nagarakretagama*, *Arjunawijaya*, *Sutasoma*, and *Kunjarakarna*.

Original Indonesian themes and stories, however, aside from those originating from Sanskrit literature, have always been part of the Indonesian literary heritage. Some of them have bloomed to the full on their own, while others have been incorporated into stories based on foreign origins, or just given a garb of foreign elements. In the last mentioned variety, it is only the names of characters that are taken from either *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, or *Amir Hamzah* stories, but the stories themselves, and the themes underlying them, are of local origin. An example of the purely original, local cycle of stories often rendered into beautiful literary works are that about the prince *Panji Inu Kertapati* and his beloved princess *Candrakirana*. This cycle of stories, originating from Java, is also known in Malay and Thai literature. In Thailand, as well as in Java itself, the *Panji* stories are also depicted in theatrical forms.

Among the peaks of Malay literature there are for instance the works of the Acehnese literary writers *Hamzah Fansuri* and *Nuruddin ar-Raniri*. Both wrote with a strong background of Islamic sources. Just like the old Javanese poets who were versed in Sanskrit, these Acehnese writers were proficient in Arabic and Persian, and were experts on Islam. *Hamzah Fansuri* who lived presumably around the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century AD, wrote poetry containing mysticism related to Islamic teachings. Among his wellknown works are *Sharabu'l - 'Aasqiin*, *Asraaru'l-Aarifiin*, *Al-Muntahii*, *Sha'ir Dagang*, *Sha'ir Burung Unggas*, and *Sha'ir Perahu*. His mystical conviction is pantheistic, to such an extent that he believed in God's total immanence in whatever element of the universe. It was exactly this conviction that was later criticised by the other wellknown author from Aceh, *Nuruddin ar-Raniri*, who lived in the seventeenth century A.D. and wrote mostly in Arabic.

Another aspect of Indonesian cultural heritage comprises dance,

music, and theatrical art in general. Well founded styles of dance, organological varieties in music, and characteristic theatrical conventions found in the archipelago demonstrate a richness of Indonesia's intangible cultural heritage. High school and university level institutions in performing arts are established in several places in Indonesia, such as Medan, Padang Panjang, Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Surabaya, Ujung Pandang, and Denpasar. These educational institutions function as conservation as well as development agents for the multifarious traditional performing arts.

The whole national cultural heritage, be it tangible or intangible, should be the concern of the whole Indonesian nation. The government takes measures and actions whenever necessary to protect and preserve the Indonesian patrimony, both through regulations and preservational projects. However, private owners of family heirlooms, which are at the same time considered as national heritage, are expected to give the necessary care to their possession. State museums and art centers built by the government in every province are infrastructures, among others expected to function as guardians of Indonesia's patrimony.

EDI SEDYAWATI

THE MAKING AND DEVELOPMENT OF INDONESIAN NATIONAL CULTURE*)

The Government of The Republic of Indonesia has the task of developing culture with a clearly defined set of norms and objectives. These set of norms and objectives aims at generating whatever actions and products that strengthen the national culture, while at the same time warding off any element of activity and production that is considered detrimental to the building up of a well-founded national culture.

The Setup

The Indonesian nation was formed by generating a national awareness among the people through a political national movement, animated by young Indonesia intellectuals during the Dutch colonial period. The main aim of the movement had been the formation of a nation, the Indonesian nation, and to obtain freedom for this nation, a freedom from any colonial power.

Since the beginning, the new "nation in formation" was aware that within the Indonesian nation there is a multifariousness in terms of ethnicity and religious adherence. Therefore, the motto "Unity in Diversity" (in the classical literary language of old Javanese spelled as "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika") was launched officially in 1951. These words was put on the Indonesian national coat of arms, which has the form of Garuda, a mythical bird that symbolizes power, perseverance and justice.

Right after the proclamation of independence of the Indonesian nation on the 17th of August 1945, the next day, the Indonesia constitution was drafted, to be officially issued later on the 15th of February 1946. This constitution contain a paragraph that lay the foundation for a further

*) Paper for "Cultures in Asean and The 21st Century", Conference Literary and Asean Studies, ASEAN-COCI - Singapore.

development of the Indonesian national culture. It mentions that the government of the Republic of Indonesia should develop an Indonesian national culture. In the appended explanation of the constitution, it is expounded that the national culture is the product of the minds of the Indonesian people as a whole. Ancient and indigenous cultures that appear as peaks of culture in different regions are considered as the culture of the nation. Further on the explanation asserts that cultural development should be directed towards progress of culture and civilization, and towards unity of the nation, while not rejecting new elements from foreign cultures as far as they are enriching the national culture, and enhancing the high degree of humanity of the Indonesian nation.

Upon that mandate of the constitution the government of the Republic of Indonesia launches programs that are directed towards the stimulation of creativity, as well as the appreciation for as the nation's cultural heritage. The preservation and maintenance of traditional ethnic cultures is perceived as a means to bring about a feeling of rootedness in one's culture. The awareness, appreciation, as well as comprehension of the culture heritage from ancient times, irrespective of territorial boundaries between different kingdoms of the past, moreover, could give the new Indonesian nation a feeling of having a common heritage from the past, since the demarcations of ancient kingdom do not automatically tally the presentday ethnic boundaries.

The new Indonesian nation, within the present independent state of the Republik o Indonesia, has been and is still forming itself by creating new forms of cultural products, maintaining and enhancing agreed upon cultural values, while at the same time making its cultural and historical heritage function as the provider of its identity. Politically, the basic principles that also count as basic source for cultural values, are formulated in what is called the *Pancasila* (five principles), specified as : (1) Belief in one god ; (2) A just and civilized humanity ; (3) Indonesian unity ; (4) Populism guided by wisdom in consultation and representation : (5) Social justice for the whole Indonesian people.

Cultural Development

Since development in a general sense should always cater to the overall wellbeing of human beings, it should, then, have a cultural dimen-

sion. It is through the culture of his society that a human being is brought to his dignity, after his basic physical needs have been fulfilled. Culture may also be developed in its own right. In that case, it is visualized that cultural values as well as conceptual frame frameworks and ideologies together comprise the focal point in a cultural system, of which cultural expressions and works of art are the most observable indicators.

The term culture should also be defined in its broader as well as its narrower sense. In its broader sense culture is the totality of human ability to deal with his life, to survive physically, emotionally, and mentally. In a more strict sense, culture should mean the human faculty, within a society, to construct a system of symbols, either for communicational ends or for interpreting the world, the cosmos, and human life. In any sense, however, culture is a total configuration of those faculties that characterize a society, or a nation.

Language, philosophy and ethics, science, and the arts are fields of human creation using symbolic faculties. Those are the pure cultural products in a strict sense. Applied science, however, is part of culture in a broader sense, since it has pragmatic and practical ends. On the other end, religion has a specific place in human life. Religion is a cultural faculty although the basic teachings of which is God-sent, revealed to God-chosen human beings. Those basic teachings are to be understood universally, although the material renderings could be culturally adapted within each society.

Cultural expressions and the arts have symbols and concepts as their ingredients, while the contents are the different kinds of messages. They have the forms of, either works of art, or any kinds of discourse. All the symbols, concepts, and messages, within a well-integrated culture normally conform to the set of cultural values relevant to the respective society. However, it might also happen that within a multi-cultural society with less integrative forces in it, cultural values may vary from one to another faction within that society, even to the extent that values generated from a newly acquired economic growth may become so divergent from the ethical values known from the past, that have functioned as a stronghold of a nation.

The last mentioned situation may happen if the society concerned lacks the awareness of the existence of those disintegrating factors. If a nation is determined to avoid disintegration, then cultural discourse should always be conducted from time, along with the economical and technological developments that tend to ever speed-up. The position of culture in a strict sense, in a society, should be that of a guardian of morality, a reflection on the meaning of human life, and a source of energy to raise an ever better condition of life. To be able to function in that way, culture should deliberately be given a position of a guiding strength within a society. Put in other words, life should not be taken as having practical ends alone.

Human dignity and (national) cultural identity should be the goals of a cultural development in its own right. Ideally cultural development is treated as part and parcel of development in a broad sense. Cultural development should then have two directions that are of equal importance and should be mutually supportive. The first direction is towards the strengthening of :

- (a) cultural identity, through a sense of having specific cultural roots, and through an awareness of having creative faculties;
- (b) ethical and moral values ; and
- (c) historical awareness.

On the other hand, the second direction is catered to cope with the speed of technological and economic development. This direction of cultural development comprises the promotion and enhancement of values that put ingenuity, objectivity, and systems awareness at an elevated place.

The creative faculties mentioned in relation to the first direction of cultural development are not to be understood as comprising only creativity in the artistic field. Artistic creativity is indeed the most exposed, immediately recognizable form of creativity. In a way it deserves the laudation as the representative of the concept of creativity itself, since it in the arts that creativity can deal with sheer form, sheer imagination, with no other objectives besides the work of art itself. Nevertheless, it is also an established fact that creativity is also a faculty that through new concepts, new theories, new methodologies, promotes science and entrepreneurship into a dynamic life.

A continuous dialogue between cultural development and economic-technological development is badly needed if development in a broader sense is deemed to succeed. Spiritual and mental-emotional needs of the whole society is expected to be facilitated and enhanced by its physical-material wellbeing, rather than eclipsed or pestered by it.

Organizations for Cultural development

Both Government-based and private-based organizations are important agents for cultural development in Indonesia. They function, however, in a slightly different way for some aspects of cultural development. Basically, the Government of The Republic of Indonesia has the task of developing culture with a clearly defined set of norms and objectives. These set of norms and objectives aims at generating whatever actions and products that strengthen the national culture, while at the same time warding off any element of activity and production that is considered detrimental to the building up of a well-founded national culture. The private organizations, on the other hand, have a freer rein for their activities. Some types of private organization do have the awareness and intent to develop culture in a positive and constructive way relevant to the building up of a national culture. Other types of private organizations, to the contrary, are active in some fields of culture but using mainly a commercial rather than a cultural yardstick.

Types of Organization.

There are three main types of cultural organization in Indonesia, namely :

- (a) purely governmental;
- (b) by status private, but strongly supported by the government;
- (c) purely private.

Among the purely governmental organizations can be mentioned the different departments (equivalent to "ministries" in other countries) that are somehow relevant to the task of cultural development. The first

to be mentioned is the Department of Education and Culture, within which there is the Directorate General for Culture, the other three directorate generals being those concerning education. Other departments that can be mentioned in connection with cultural development are the Department of Information and the Department of Post, Telecommunication and Tourism.

It is the Directorate General for Culture that has the explicit task concerning cultural development. However, it does not visualize itself as being the sole player of the role. The main fields of activity of the Directorate General for Culture are :

- (a) the management (a.o. making of inventories), preservation, conservation, and restoration of monuments and other tangible cultural heritage;
- (b) the management of all museums owned by the state, and professional consultations to private museums ;
- (c) research in Indonesian languages, literature, ethnic cultures, archaeology and the arts ;
- (d) the giving of directives towards the use of correct Indonesian (language), and the construction of norms related to it;
- (e) the study and dissemination of Indonesian cultural values, studied either from the old traditions (literate and non-literate) or from contemporary developments;
- (f) the promotion of high quality works of art;
- (g) the study of local belief systems and its methods of attaining spiritual merits;
- (h) the study and writing of Indonesian history;
- (i) the promotion of inter-regional cultural understanding;
- (j) the management of cultural information;
- (k) the production and the promotion of production of exemplary packages of cultural information

In principle, this directorate general has several roles to play in cultural development : not always as the executor of cultural activities, but often also as coordinator, or just motivator of such activities.

Other directorate generals in the Department of Education and

Culture takes care of school-, and out-of-school education, from kindergarten up to university level, which is in a way dealing with enculturation processes. National awareness, historical awareness, as well as awareness of the need for cultural identity, of ethical and religious truths, are among the substances learned through different subjects of teaching.

The Department of Information is responsible in forming guiding principles for media management. The media is, either printed, auditive, or audio-visual, also media for cultural transfer. It is always important to keep track of the flow of informations that has a cultural impact. The flow of foreign media products needs to be balanced by self-made Indonesian products which are not only commercial but also culturally constructive. Film and video making and distribution is supervised by this department.

The Department of Post, Telecommunication and Tourism, especially the Directorate General for Tourism in it, has a direct relevance to cultural development, since it promotes the 'selling' of culture to tourists. The most important thing in the business of selling is the endeavour to make the best quality of each class of things sold, and at the same time reaching for the best financial income for the makers of all those cultural products. Archaeological parks, art festivals, ritualistic-ceremonial events, and musea are among the cultural tourists objects.

The province and district level governments may also have some cultural organizations under their auspices. It ranges from the artistic group led by the wife of the governor, to the council of art elected among the prominent artists in the region. These Art Councils, that can be found in many provinces, are the examples of an organization that has a private status but heavily supported by the local government. Another example is the Archaeological Park, which is managed as a private company, but at the same is responsible to the government because this park is using Government's asset. Still another example is the National Crafts Council : it is a semi-governmental organization, with a more or less private status, but all the members and staff came from Government's offices, ex officio.

The purely private organizations are manifold. They range from music-cassette producers to the organization of patrons of the classical leather puppet performances. The cultural subject matter dealt with

ranges from the most trivial to the most serious, from the most popular to the most classical. Private sponsorship for (serious) art is now in the beginnings of their emergence in Indonesia.

Aspects of Cultural Development

Several subjects that can be seen as aspects of cultural development are among others :

- (a) the promotion of a national culture ;
- (b) the development of local-ethnic cultures as a source for giving a sense of having cultural roots, as well as a source of inspiration for newer creations ;
- (c) the promotion and enhancement of quality in cultural works;
- (d) the promotion and control of cultural industry

The government has the authority to direct all those aspects of cultural development through regulations, while the private sector has a full chance to be the actors, participators, as well as directors of trends. Deeper understanding on cultural subjects is still to be promoted and the appreciation for good cultural products to be extended to all the different groups in a society, and especially to those of the successful people in a society. Those elegantly exposed people are usually considered as models in a society. It is desirable, therefore, that they are identified with good taste for art, and for all other cultural expressions. The majority of people within a society will then follow them to become people of high taste, culturally.

THE CHALLENGE OF MULTIPLE CULTURAL RESOURCES: FRONTIERS FOR COMPOSERS AND CHOREOGRAPHERS*)

To Compose in Music and Dance

The terms "composer" and "choreographer" were coined in the western world, in societies where creation in art has been mostly considered as an individual responsibility. In the 'eastern' world, individual masters in art do emerge from time to time, but they work mostly in a more collaborative atmosphere. Copying from his work is not regarded as a crime, but as a proof of an acknowledgement of his excellence by his fellow artists. Sharing of ideas became the general rule, and yet the master's lustre will glow naturally. That, constitutes the traditional situation.

A traditional system of art is constructed anonymously, as an accumulation of findings and creations that are brought forth from time to time, fitted into the existing system through a maintenance of the accepted range of values within the society concerned. These "accepted range of values" are translated into a specific set of norms and technique for each branch of art, among others music and dance. Criteria of beauty are symbolic manifestations representing the basic mental attitudes regarded as correct within a society.

A contradicting stance against tradition is, on the contrary, the typical attitude of modernism. To find things outside the normal path becomes the rule, both in modern and contemporary art. The strive to find new forms of expressions, new principles of composition, and even new sources of sound and movement, is always there at the center of the creative field, within which the contemporary artists work to find their freedom.

*) Keynote Address

For the Seminar on Frontiers for Composers and Choreographers: The Problem of Multiculturalism, held in Jakarta, September 27 - 28th, 1995 as part of the Art Summit Indonesia 1995: International Festival and Seminar on Contemporary Music and Dance, Jakarta, September 23 - October 12, 1995.

It is worth noting at this point that in countries like Indonesia where traditions abound and have been instrumental in forming a nation's identity, cultural life, including art, has two sources of vitality, namely the values brought forth through traditional channels, and the values of progress and modernization. On the other hand, in countries like the United States of America, where explorativeness has been the main value and no indigenous tradition prevails, it is indeed natural that no esteem towards tradition is promoted. However, having our view expanded beyond the boundaries of nations, we have to admit that we are living in a world with a multitude of nations, each with their own cultural particularity.

On Cultural Boundaries

In human life in this world there has always been the dynamics between multifariousness and universalness. It has been the preoccupation of students of culture to seek empirical knowledge, and henceforth to establish concepts and build theories, with the ultimate goal of among others explaining that very dynamics in cultural development. The sheer fact of variousness of cultures in the world, however, does not hamper the adherents of one culture or another to pursue the claim that his particular culture is the bearer of universal values. Viewed from a scientific angle, it is widely acknowledged that such a claim is at odds with empirical facts. Nevertheless, historical facts have shown to us too that those kinds of a claim, from era to era, have yielded an appearance of being true, due to ideologies that were (and are) promoted through forceful and determined political endeavours.

Let us reflect for a while on the meaning of culture in human life. Culture, the core of which comprises the value system and the conglomerate of basic concepts within it, is an integrated set of ideas to which members of the respective society orient their behaviour. As such, culture should be considered as a grace of God, by which man is given the chance to direct his own deeds and give a meaning to his own life. Culture is the property, as well as the boundary, of a society. Albeit, the boundaries of cultures are flexibly shifting within the course of the history of societies.

The most explicit unit of bearers of a specific culture is the ethnic group. The very term "ethnic" (from Greek *ethnikos*, meaning "foreign, of a national group"), implies a distancing from, and also suggesting a lower scale than, one's own culture. It happened to be used initially in European discourse. Hence, the science of Ethnography and Ethnology used to deal with 'foreign', non-European societies. The change of name into Anthropology indicated the change of attitude of the scientists: they began to regard different societies with specific cultures within Europe itself, even the mainstream 'general' European culture, as ethnic too.

A cultural unity may also center around a religion which from the very onset was meant to be followed by all people of the world, irrespective of their ethnicity or nationality. The core of these great religions consists of the dogma, or a set of doctrines, the actualizational rules of which form the characteristics of the respective religion. However, the further implementations of those doctrines may partly be adapted in a special manner within each different society. Thus, varieties of expressions of the same doctrines may be observed from place to place.

Since peoples of the world are moving spatially, and interact mentally and physically, either in a faster or a slower pace, the lines of boundary between culturers may shift, or overlap. There are even many examples of large-scale migrations or colonizations into lands that are already inhabited. Those migrations or colonizations had often brought forth a superimposition of one culture upon another. The resulting amalgamated social unity out of those migrational and colonizational processes became then multicultural. However, multiculturalism is not only present as the outcome of such processes. There are other conditions, other processes of state formation that can also bring about a multicultural society.

Types of States, with Reference to Multiculturalism

Within a historical perspective, types of state with reference to multiculturalism can be differentiated as follows. The **first** type is that resulting from endeavours of *imperium* building. The empire consists of many originally independent states, mostly kingdoms. The states under the control and power of the emperor may have citizens of a specific ethnicity, thence they have their own cultures, possibly quite at variance with the

culture of the imperial ruling group. Taking the Roman empire as an example, it can be observed that the variety of people with their divergent cultures within the empire's hegemony is relatively great, and yet a distinctly Roman character of their historical and archaeological remains are present throughout the empire. To yield themselves to Roman-ness was then an expression of tribute to the hegemonical power. The many cultures within the empire were pushed aside to give way to the greatness of the Roman Empire. Therefore, although the many cultures were there, they were not given due recognition as such.

The **second** type of a state is that which came into existence through a process of colonization and occupation. Vast lands were occupied by waves of migrants, resulting in greater or lesser confrontations with the indigenous inhabitants. After a long period of ever expanding colonization, and when subsequently a state was made with the colonizers as the majority and or the holder of power, then the cultural situation became settled: the colonizers were considered as the bearers of mainstream culture within the new state, whereas the indigenous population along with their respective cultures are marginalized.

Within this second type of state multiculturalism may develop into a more complicated matter. Oftentimes social and cultural discord does not happen only between the colonizers and the indigenous people of the territory, but also amongst the different sections of the immigrants themselves. Within a typical example of this kind of a state, for instance the United States of America, Canada, and Australia, discussions on these matters abound. In fact, the launching of the issue of multiculturalism itself originated from these countries, where the problems are from time to time acutely felt.

The last, **third** type of state where multiculturalism is very likely to prevail is a state based on the principle of unification.¹ In this type, more than one ethnic group decide to unite themselves and make a new state, thus forming one new nation; the motivational background of that decision being the recognition of the same ideal for the future, a common historical background, and or a closely relatedness of their cultures. As an example, Indonesia, India, and Thailand can be mentioned. In the Indonesian case, more than 300 ethnic groups, large and small, are united into a newly formed nation and making a newly

formed state. Within this state every ethnic group has the same status as members of the unified nation. It means that no nation of majority-minority dichotomy is put into any national discourse regarding these indigenous ethnic groups.

That fact is indeed contrary to what is found in most states of the second type, where what is as a rule called "minorities" are identical with ethnic groups. Within the second and third types of a state, then, there is a difference of general or induced attitude towards what is coined as "primordialism". In second type states "primordialism" tend to be regarded as something negative, as an indication of unwillingness to 'join the new nation wholeheartedly'. It is also regarded as a kind of retardedness, an inability to cope with the 'modern' demands. To the contrary, in states of the third type based on the idea of unification, regard towards one's primordial bounds is deemed necessary and positive, as it gives the feeling of rootedness in one's own culture, and at the same time that feeling will still be valid within the new nationality. The difference lies in the fact that in states of the second type the original land of the respective ethnic group lies mostly outside the territory of the present state, whereas in states of the third type the land of origin of the ethnic group is still within the territory of the new nation.

There are indeed well-known examples of second type states in which some ethnic groups are indigenous. In typical states of this kind the indigenous culture becomes marginalized, because the dominant culture is that of the colonizing immigrants. However, there is a variant of this type of a state, in which the indigenous culture and that of the immigrants became amalgamized, forming a new hybrid culture. In this case, multiculturalism does not create such a severe problem as it is very likely to be found in a typical second type state.

Addressing Multiculturalism

Social and cultural situations are empirical facts, which can however, be either analyzed scientifically, or addressed to in a political perspective. The present political perspectives regarding multiculturalism vary from country to country, and even from group to group within a society. Advocacy is often given to the "indigenous", the "ethnic", or the "minorities", which are mostly identified with each other. However, the advocate

often use the paradigm of the majority, and thus giving the impression of a patronizing agent. Contrary to advocacy, there are sometimes pressures directed towards those "ethnic minorities" that are considered as not willing to conform to the so-called "general norm".

What is considered as the general norm within a multistate unity is determined by the holder of hegemony. It is the hegemonic voices that construct the set of basic norms and its derivatives. Even the rules regarding its procedure of implementation are often set up by the hegemony holder, and thus often claimed to be universal. A historical fact that could be made an illustration for this thesis is the mental structures and related rules of behaviour that have been implanted in colonized societies through the colonists' western education system. It goes without saying that some parts of those constructions introduced by colonizers have been adopted by the colonized people and incorporated within their culture. Some other parts of the constructions are, however, modified to meet the specific needs, taste and feelings of the receiving people.

The upsurge of vehement political expressions from local ethnic groups may most probably happen as a result of cultural under-exposure of those groups within a multicultural society. Against the political and socio-cultural dominance of the majority, ethnic minorities are often found struggling for recognition, especially in states of the first and second type. Referring to this problem of recognition, related to the problem of rights, Jurgen Habermas' somewhere posed a rhetoric question: "Can a theory of rights that is so individualistically constructed deal adequately with struggles for recognition in which it is the articulation and assertion of collective identities that seems to be at stake?"

The answer should be "no". The modern movement, with individualism as its main feature, within the history of human civilizations has indeed its paramount contribution in promoting human achievements. It has enhanced scientific explorations and developments, and through the dissemination of which had succeeded in forming a layer of global culture, transsecting a multitude of cultures in the world. However, it should not mean that that cultural layer only is to be regarded as the valid one to be reckoned with. On the contrary, individual cultures (of ethnic groups, of nations) need to be maintained for the sake of collective identity and giving people a feeling of rootedness. Indeed, art as well as science require

a substantial amount of allocation of individual freedom for its development. Along the development there may occur from time to time a spur and frequent emergence of innovations that gives momentum to a revolution. But then, as history has demonstrated, after a revolutionary development, there follows a period of settling into an equilibrium. The function of the human being in a society is both as explorer and as conformer. It is the balance between individuality and collectivity that makes a culture exist and flourish.

Within a multicultural social entity, when the different cultures interact in a mutually beneficial mode, pluralism is very likely to exist. That social entity as a whole contain several cultural units, each of which offering values, sets of norms and concepts, that can be referred to, even chosen by members of the whole social entity. Put in another way, there is a multiple sources of values, norms, and concepts within that social entity. That multitude of sources makes a man either be able to jump from one source to another, from time to time, depending on the demand of a certain situation, or he can be a bi-cultural man permanently. In the last case, a bi-cultural man can allocate one source of values for a certain field of activity, and another sources for another field. In fact, a man can even be a tri-cultural being, such as for instance a cosmopolitan Indonesian: he refers to his sub-national ethnic culture for domestic matters, to his national culture for official matters, and to global cosmopolitan culture for his enjoyment, recreational and bussiness affairs.

On Facing the Other Culture

Going back to the issue of collective identity, we should address the problem of cultural resilience. The problem is relevant to a culture facing or confronting another culture, or other cultures simultaneously. The culture having a weaker position tends to generate a mechanism of survival and resistance. The idioms of resistance, however, are sometimes using also the conceptual vocabulary of the stronger culture faced by it. Basically, idioms of resistance can be classified into three categories: the first one comprises those having a mode of evasion and deliberate neglect; the **second** one comprises those having a mode of confrontation and opposition; while the **third** one comprises those forming compromises.

As has been discussed earlier, within multicultural societies of the second type states there are the so-called ethnic minorities. Those 'minori-

ties' in that kind of a state does not automatically represent nor identical with their 'home' ethnic groups. The ethnic group at home may very well be a majority. The two normally have different access to mass media facilities.

The problem of cultural resistance is indeed closely related to the access to the media. The media has an empowering quality that may determine the success or failure of the maintenance of culture. The other way around, it can also be asserted that the media is offering a challenge: an offer to be strategically used, manipulated, and enhanced as a means to fight for an idea.

What is just mentioned is the media for communication. The work of art itself is also a media, although not necessarily a mass media. It is, moreover, not a media for sheer communication, but more a media of expression. It has, though, a special quality, in that it is a symbol-laden media. In traditional music and dance the symbols are familiar to a majority of members of the society, while in contemporary music and dance the symbols are just recently made, each for a particular work of composition.

When a contemporary choreographer or composer is attracted by, or feels intrigued by a certain artistic tradition, there are three possible levels of interaction with the tradition concerned that he will likely be involved, namely on the levels of philosophical concepts, of aesthetic concepts, and of techniques referring to the specific style of the tradition.

Confronting another culture, or dealing with more than one culture of one's own, an artist is assigned a free choice among a multitude of modes of operation. The involvement with another culture in the process of creative work can either be deep or shallow, either all-pervading or segmental, depending both on the intention or scheme of the work, and the familiarity with the 'guest' culture. On the whole, people keep on fulfilling their needs to express and to interpret, using any possible opportunity. It is these problems of inter-cultural dialogue in artistic creation that is put on the table today.

NOTES

1 Habermas, Jurgén

"Struggles for Recognition in the Democratic Constitutional State", in Amy Gutman (ed.), *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994 : 107 -- 148.

